Sade

[1] Gen. James Wolfe (1726-1759), famous commander of the campaign in which Quebec was captured; mortally wounded there Sept. 13. His appointment as major general is not reflected in Br. *Army Lists* because of his early death. It applied only to the Quebec expedition. *DNB.*

[2] Col. James Murray (1719-1794), commissioned lieutenant colonel in the 15th Regiment, Jan. 5, 1751; colonel in America only, Jan. 7. 1758; colonel commandant of the 60th, Oct. 24, 1759. He later rose to major general and was the first British governor of Canada. *DNB.* Brigadier general appointments were local and temporary, not by commission.

[3] Col. Ralph Burton, 48th Regiment. *See* Bouquet to Forbes, Feb. 14, n. 6.

[4] Viscount George Townshend (1724-1807), politician and soldier. Retired from the army because he opposed the Duke of Cumberland, he returned as brevet colonel and aide to George II, on May 6. 1758. Commissioned colonel of the 28th Regiment, Oct. 24, 1759; took command when Wolfe was killed at Quebec. He was the brother of the famous Charles Townshend. *DNB.*

[5] The 77th Regiment, or First Highland Battalion. Col. Archibald Montgomery, 11th Earl of Eglinton, raised the regiment and was commissioned lieutenant colonel commandant, Jan. 4, 1757.

[6] Lieut. James Dow, a quartermaster of the 60th Regiment.

[7] Mr. Joshua Howell of Philadelphia, contractors' agent for provisions for the southern district.

[8] Tributary of the Hudson River, rising in Lewis County, N.Y., and emptying into the Hudson about 3 miles north of Troy, N.Y.

(32) Richard Kynes man fl. 7 Richard II (1388)

Dotton ⑥ last line –
& step fa of Morris²
Methuselah Griffith
(~~Sea Court~~ see
map page 14

Missing
p 6

26 line

28 hilite

42 bag 15

54 line

58 line

61 T map -

75 map

pg 1 – ¶ 2 last sentence – ~~Our~~ This narrative started out as a search for that information.

¶ 3 – line 5 h~~a~~s had

¶ 2 – line 11 mother ~~'s~~ -- our missing Indian

Redo ¶ 2

Renumber Pages –

Page 8 (Rev Hoge)

Mossalburgh – a port on the Firth of Forth, is presently on eastern suburb of Edinburgh, Scotland

Redo Chapt 2 – Christian (Peoria) Neely

CHAPTER ONE - THE FIRST GENERATION

There was an old tradition of Indian blood in Grandpa White's family that your skeptical author used to think must have originated in some ancestor's overactive imagination, for not a single one of his relatives had any hereditary Indian feature I could see--like high cheekbones or a dusky complexion. Grandpa, a cute little tyke and the oldest of many grandchildren on both sides, had had such bright yellow hair that his Averill grandparents dubbed him their "little gold dollar."

The Averill Genealogy traces that family back to Tudor England. We ourselves traced all the female lines branching off from it back to pioneer New England, with nary a hint of an Indian. If one were really hiding in there, it had to be on the side of his father's mother, a young lady named Susannah Griffith, who died before she was thirty, leaving few traces behind. Being then new at Genealogy, it took us years to even learn whom her parents were, and longer yet to finally discover that her great grandmother, born Sarah Pearis, had a brother George Pearis with a Cherokee mother. There is no question of this well-documented fact. Did Sarah have the same mother? Was she our missing Indian? Part of this story is a search for that information.

The Pearis family were early pioneers in old Frederick County, though they don't seem to have been in the original emigrant train led there in 1734 by old Jost Hite, owner of a huge new Virginia Colony grant. It is important for us to know when they got there because for Sarah to have that mother, the Pearis Family has to have been there by around 1743, at which time her father, Richard Pearis, must have begun his occupation as a fur trader, trekking up the ancient Indian trace leading to Southwest Virginia to trade with Cherokees before white encroachment drove both them and the animals away. As a teenager, he was probably sponsored by Jost Hite's son Jacob, who was early engaged in that venture. Boys became men very early on the frontier and, as you will see, Richard was a very talented unusual man, who led a daring life of adventure.

Historians writing about Richard generally say he came there from Ireland "before 1750," which is much too vague to help us. British documents unavailable at the Wisconsin State Historical Society where I research* reportedly say he came to America at age 10. The earliest Frederick County Deed Book mention of any of the family was on 11 February 1747/8, when Richard witnessed a Grub Family deed in which Emanuel Grub of Newcastle, Delaware, sold 115 acres bought from Jost Hite to Benjamin Grub, bordering on the land of John Grub. Nothing else seems to connect our family to the Grubs, but this does show they were there then. Those deed books do not usually (but occasionally do) tell us when land was originally acquired by patent. They do show any subsequent sales of already patented land. The patents themselves were recorded on the manor rolls of the first grantee,

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*American Loyalists Audit Office Transcripts (76 vols) Public Records Office of England, ii (we need Vol XXVI, pages 362-385).

such as Hite, Ross, Morgan, Lord Fairfax, et all, who issued the patents. Some Manor Rolls never became public. When the settlers first came, the area was part of Spotsylvania Co., then Orange Co., from 1734-1738, then Frederick though deed books of the latter do not begin until 1743--before that such records as survive are spotty at best. However, proof (albeit negative) that they were there before 1743 is that the will of George Pearis, Sr, Richard's father, left him land he had purchased from Peter Helton, and land from Richard Morgan to grandson George III, his son George Jr.'s son--both tracts purchased before the Frederick County deed book started.

Our Sarah (named for her grandmother) was probably at least 17 when she married Sgt. George Teeter in Spring 1762, which means born by 1745 when her father was 20. By that time Captain Richard was well-to-do, whereas his son-in-law came from a modest German immigrant family. That helps strengthen the premise she was part Indian, but proves nothing. To give George credit he was an exceptionally bright, brave, hard worker who planned ahead well. By then Richard had a wife Rhoda who signed deeds with him. Most Cherokees were then illiterate but a well-loved Cherokee wife could have been taught to write. Some books state she was Cherokee; others assume she was white. Though it is by no means proven, this book will proceed on the assumption that Rhoda was Richard's only wife, and that she was a Cherokee.

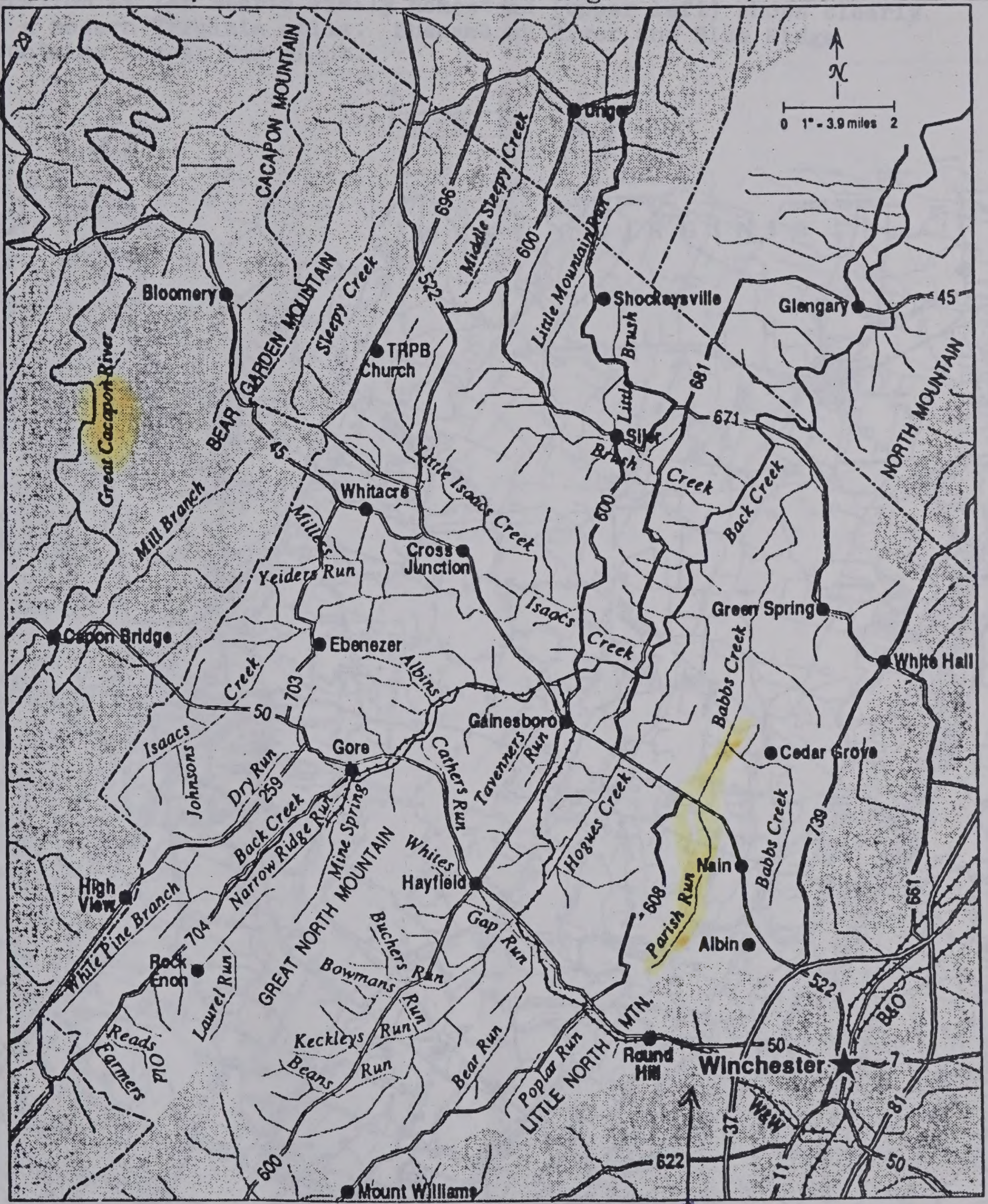
Jost Hite had worked very hard to gather settlers in a hurry, for part of his grant was purchased from the VanMeters, and the clock was already ticking on time allotted for settlement of that sector. While he and other relatives scurried around touting his land in Pennsylvani son Jacob went to Ireland encouraging families to emigrate to Hite's green acres--were the Pearises among them? We honestly don't know, but it is true this same Jacob Hite was later associated with Richard in the fur trade. It is equally possible the Pearises were in the Lancaster PA area for a little while, for it appears Richard's older brother, George Jr., met his wife there. That seems to be where Hite picked up George Teeter's parents, rather newly-arrived German immigrants who were in the first immigrant train. Even then Lancaster was becoming overcrowded and farmland overpriced.

On 12 November 1750, George Pearis Sr. already of Frederick County* purchased from William Hoge, Jr., of Bucks Co. PA, a 200-acre tract, part of his late father's estate. It was a particularly nice piece of property. The mansion-house became the family homestead. Deed books do show the origin. William Hoge, Sr., got it from Isaac Parkin who received it by patent from original grantee Alexander Ross in March 1735. Ross, a Quaker, sponsored a settlement of Hopewell Quaker slightly NW of the Hites. Some land bordering on the new Pearis homestead had been sold to the Quaker Babb family who hung onto it. A map on the following page shows "Hogues" Creek, "Babbs" Run, and "Parrish" Run, named for these families. Time has twisted the spellings, but it is easy to see where these families lived as pioneers. Perhaps before this they were on the land from Helton or Morgan. Richard, then having wife and children, very likely moved into the Helton place

---

*Frederick County VA Deed Books 1743-1776 abstracts by Amelia C. Gilreath (1989) Book I page 389 of the original records.

George Pearis, Sr., resided at "Parish" Run of "Hogues" Creek branch of Back Creek (named for the Pearis and Hoge families).

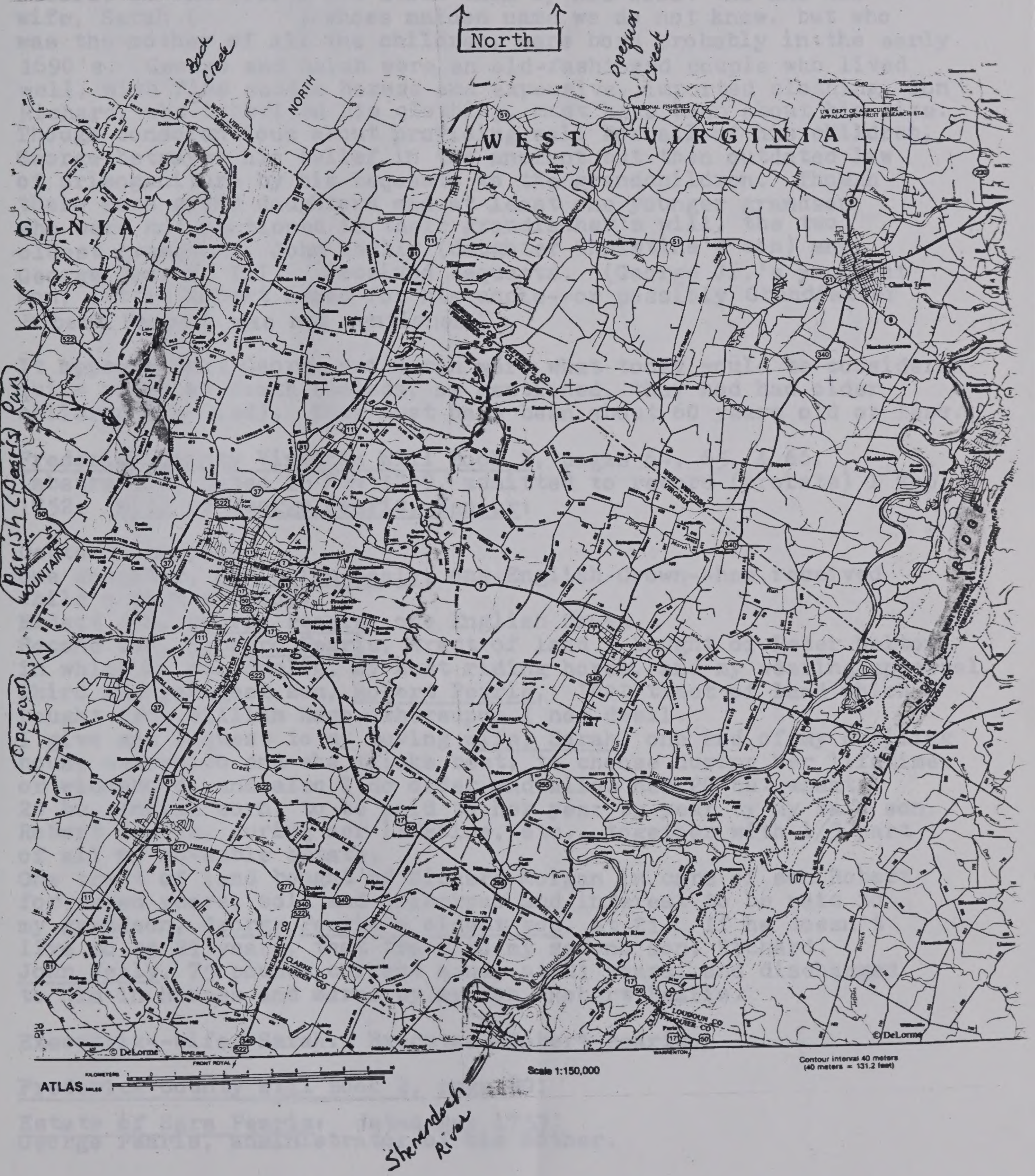

N
0 1" - 3.9 miles 2
CACAPON MOUNTAIN
Unger
Sleepy Creek
Middle Sleepy Creek
Little Mountain Run
696
600
522
Bloomery
BEAR GARDEN MOUNTAIN
TRPB Church
Shockeysville
Glengary
45
NORTH MOUNTAIN
Great Cacapon River
Little Brush
Siler
Brush Creek
681
671
Back Creek
Little Isaacs Creek
Whitacre
Mill Branch
Millers
Yeiders Run
Cross Junction
Isaacs Creek
Green Spring
White Hall
Capon Bridge
Ebenezer
Albins
Creek
50
703
Gainesboro
Babbs Creek
Cedar Grove
Isaacs
Johnsons
Dry Run
259
Gore
Cathers Run
Tavenners Run
Hogues Creek
Back Creek
Narrow Ridge Run
Mine Spring
GREAT NORTH MOUNTAIN
Whites
Hayfield
Nain
Babbs Creek
739
661
High View
White Pine Branch
704
Rock Enon
Laurel Run
Gap Run
608
Parish Run
Albin
Buchers Run
Bowmans Run
522
B&O
Reads
Farmers
Old
Keckleys Run
Beans Run
Bear Run
Poplar Run
LITTLE NORTH MTN.
Round Hill
50
Winchester
7
37
W&W
81
11
622
50
600
Mount Williams

From: Settlement and some First Families of Back Creek Valley

Back Creek and Its Tributaries

PEARIS FAMILY

Location of the Pearis Family homestead (upper left) shows clearly in a modern Virginia atlas. Shenandoah River and Blue Ridge mountains are at far right.


North
Back Creek
Opequon Creek
NORTH
WEST VIRGINIA
GINIA
Parish (Pearis) Run
MOUNTAIN
Opequon
Winchester
Berryville
Charles Town
BLUE RIDGE
JEFFERSON CO
CLARKE CO
FREDERICK CO
WARREN CO
LOUDOUN CO
FAUQUIER CO
© DeLorme
Scale 1:150,000
Contour interval 40 meters (40 meters = 131.2 feet)
ATLAS
Shenandoah River

Though there is not very much about the Pearis parents in the record, we can tell a lot about them by his will. He and his wife, Sarah (   ) whose maiden name we do not know, but who was the mother of all the children, were born probably in the early 1690's. George and Sarah were an old-fashioned couple who lived well, with fine saddle horses and expensive, imported clothing. Son Richard, who inherited his clothing, must have been about his size. Though conscientious about providing well for all of his children, George betrayed his belief in the ancient but then outdated law of primogeniture by his bequests to the grandchildren. Though there were grand daughters and at least one younger grandson who were not mentioned in their grandfather's will, the two oldest grandsons, John Neally (daughter Christine's son) and George Pearis III. received bequests. (George Jr.'s youngest son, little Robert named for his uncle--or possibly Grandfather Robert Pepper, was not mentioned.)

It appears that George and Sarah were what today would be considered quite young at death (unless, as mentioned, they had had older children who died). They must have been about 60 years old or less.

Frederick County Virginia Will Book 2, pages 64, 65, & 66, (abstracted) Dated 15 Nov 1749, admitted to record (probate) 1 Sep 1752: Will of George Pearis, Senior:

Debts to be paid.
One daughter, Christian Nealy, one English Crown--has received child's part already.
Eldest son, George Pearis, one English Crown.
Second son, Richard Pearis, tract of land I bought of Peter Helton, in which he now dwells, my best riding horse, and my wearing apparrel.
Third and youngest son, Robert Pearis, that tract of land which I bought from William Hoge, whereupon I now dwell.
I give and bequest to my loving wife, Sarah, one end of my dwelling house everwhich end she thinks best, to choose during her lifetime or widowhood; and also I do order and allow her 20 bu. wheat, 20 bu. Indian corn, to be paid to her year by year by my said son, Robert Pearis, during her lifetime, etc., together with 1/3 part of all my moveable estate.
One tract of land bought of Richard Morgan in care of son Robert for seven years, sold and principal and interest to be paid to my grandson, George Pearis's oldest son, at 21. If he doesn't live to be 21 years, that tract to my second son, Richard.
John Nealy, 75 pounds current money at 21 years, and discharged to him in horses and mares by my son, Robert Pearis.

Executrix--wife, Sarah. Executor--Robert Pearis.

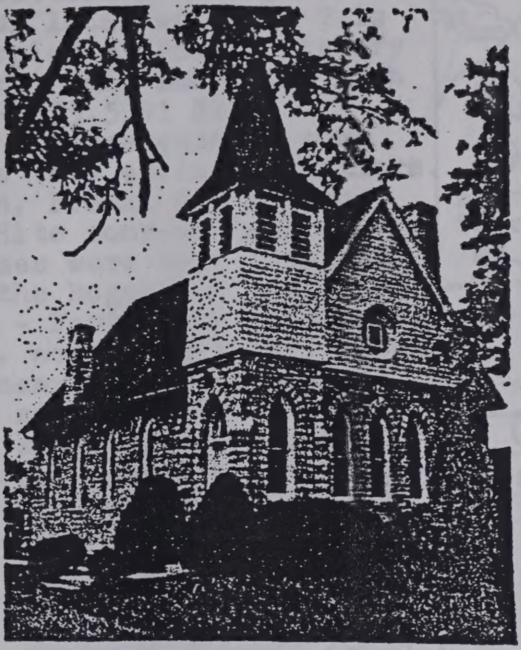
Frederick County Will Book 2, page 89:

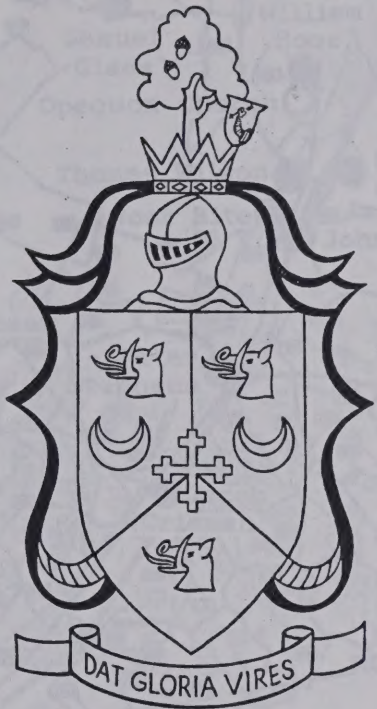
Estate of Sara Pearis: dated May 1753:
George Pearis, administrator of his mother.

Bottom of page —

"Musselborough is a
~~Firth of Forth port
town~~
Northeastern suburb of
Edinburgh, with a
port on the Firth of
Forth

Get pg 7 from other
book but don't
mark on it





Left - 1987 photo of the Presbyterian church donated by the Hoges.

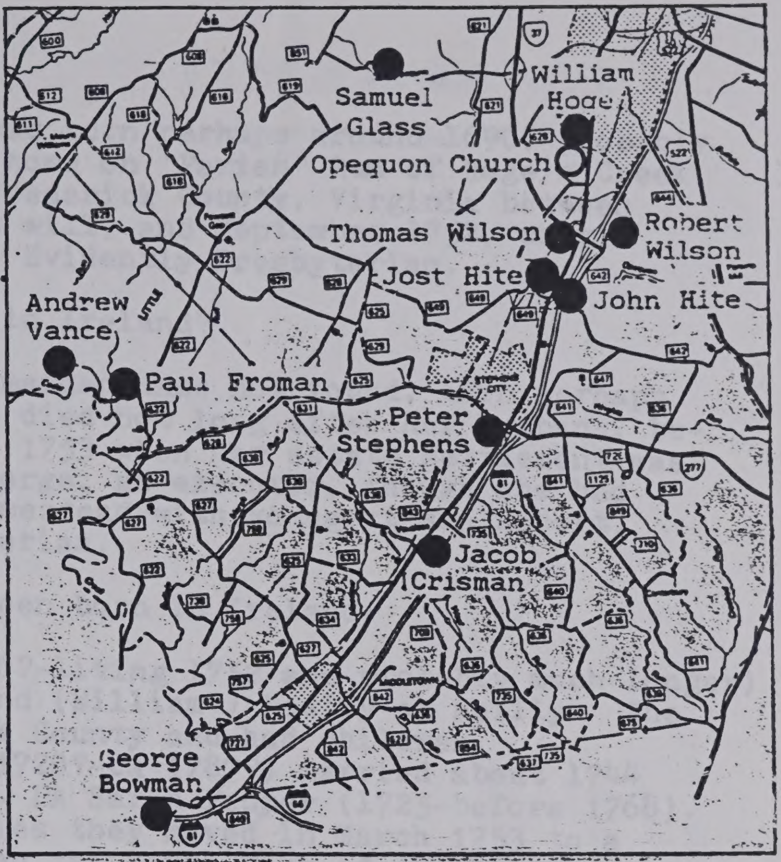
Right - Hoge family coat of arms. The blue boars have red tongues. The crescents & cross suggest an early ancestor was in the Crusades--probably a Norman, who fought Saracens.

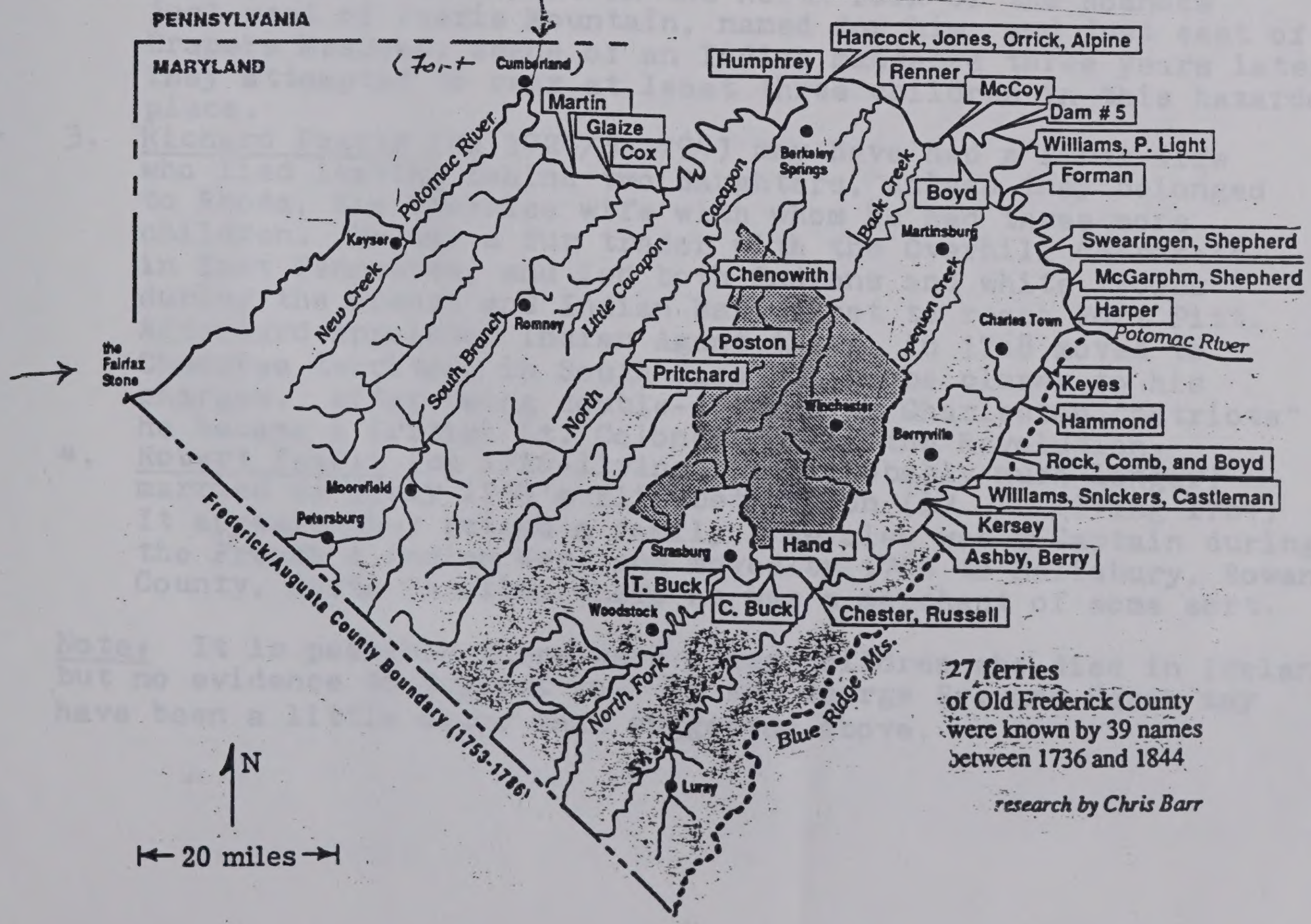
George Pearis, Sr., purchased his homestead from the estate of William Hoge, Sr. The whole community owed a debt of gratitude to Mr. Hoge, son of Sir James Hoge of Musselboro, & [illegible] Scotland. a hamlet east of Edinburgh. At age 20 he emigrated for religious freedom aboard the ship Caledonia, where he met the Hume family. Her parents fell sick and died, leaving him to care for young Barbara, age 10. He left her with relatives but later married her and they raised a large family. In old age the elderly couple and their progeny moved to Jost Hite's settlement. In 1736 he had a large church built which he donated to the community with the proviso that all faiths be allowed to worship there and especially any itinerant minister who should come along to visit the new settlement. The couple and many descendants are among those buried in the churchyard. His grandson, Rev. John H~~ite~~ogg, was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1755 and became pastor there. Our Pearises and Teters worshiped there, as did George Washington and many others. The church was damaged in the Revolutionary and Civil Wars and a 1873 fire. This is how it looks now after many remodelings.

Information from a genealogy, Hoge, Hogue and Hogg by Lola Gentry Hoge et al (1987)

PEARIS FAMILY

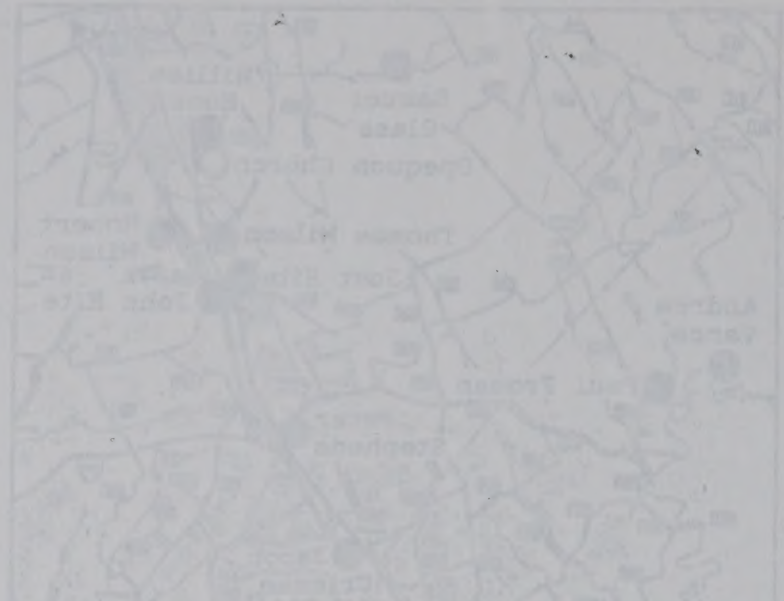
Illustrations from:
The Story of Frederick County a collection of essays by various local writers. This was copied at Family History Library, Salt Lake City Utah US/CAN 975.5991 H25
Right - Homesteads of some of the very earliest settlers. Bowman, Froman & Chrisman were Hite sons-in-law. Pearises were very involved with the Hoges & Hites.
Below - Ferry locations, some early, some much later, also show many of the rivers. As early as 1738, Jeorg Dieter, whose son married Sarah Pearis, was among the petitioners for a road from Jost Hite's mill to the Ashby's bend ferry located on the Shenandoah. In 1761 Richard Pearis and Lewis Peirs or Pearce/Pearis owned a mill on the Opequon.
Capt. Pearis & Teter brothers stationed at Fort Cumberland.


Samuel Glass
William Hoge
Opequon Church
Thomas Wilson
Robert Wilson
Jost Hite
John Hite
Andrew Vance
Paul Froman
Peter Stephens
Jacob Crisman
George Bowman


PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
(Fort Cumberland)
the Fairfax Stone
Potomac River
Kayser
New Creek
South Branch
Romney
Little Cacapon
North
Cacapon
Berkeley Springs
Back Creek
Martinsburg
Opequon Creek
Charles Town
Potomac River
Winchester
Berryville
Moorefield
Petersburg
Strasburg
Woodstock
North Fork
Luray
Blue Ridge Mts.
Frederick/Augusta County Boundary (1753-1786)
Martin
Glaize
Cox
Humphrey
Hancock, Jones, Orrick, Alpine
Renner
McCoy
Dam # 5
Williams, P. Light
Forman
Boyd
Swearingen, Shepherd
McGarphm, Shepherd
Harper
Chenowith
Poston
Pritchard
Keyes
Hammond
Rock, Comb, and Boyd
Williams, Snickers, Castleman
Kersey
Hand
Ashby, Berry
T. Buck
C. Buck
Chester, Russell
N
20 miles

27 ferries
of Old Frederick County
were known by 39 names
between 1736 and 1844

research by Chris Barr


Phillips
Samuel Glass
Opequon Church
Thomas Wilson
Jost Hite
John Hite
Andrew Vance
Paul Froman
Stephens
Chrisman
George Bowman

PEARIS FAMILY

Illustrations from:
The Story of Frederick County
a collection of essays by various local writers. This was copied at Family History Library, Salt Lake City Utah US/CAN 975.5991 H25
Right - Homesteads of some of the very earliest settlers Bowman, Froman & Chrisman were Hite sons-in-law. Pearises were very involved with the Hoges & Hites.
Below - ferry locations, some early, some much later, also show many of the rivers. As early as 1738, Jeorg Dieter, whose son married Sarah Pearis, , was among the petitioners for a road from Jost Hite's mill to the Ashby's bend ferry located on the Shenandoah. In 1761 Richard Pearis and Lewis Peirs or Pearce/Pearis owned a mill on the Opequon.
Capt. Pearis & Peter brothers stationed at Fort Cumberland.

PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
Pearis
N
20 miles

22 ferries of Old Frederick County were known by 37 names between 1736 and 1844

Artwork by Chris Barr

FAMILY GROUP :

Father: George Pearis, Sr. was born perhaps around 1690, probably in Ireland. He died at his home on "Parish" Run of Hoge's Creek, a tributary of Back Creek, Frederick County, Virginia between 15 Nov 1749, the date of his will, and September 1752, court approved probate. Religion: Evidently Presbyterian.

Married: About 1715 or so - in Ireland?

Mother: Sarah (   ) maiden name not found, born perhaps around 1695 in Ireland? She died not long after her husband, between September 1752 and May 1753 when her estate settlement was approved with oldest son, George, as executor, though she had been living at the family homestead with youngest son Robert. Religion: Evidently Presbyterian.

Children, all said to have been born in Ireland:

1. Christian Pearis (ca 1716?-living 1752 and probably much longer) married perhaps in Ireland (William?) Neally or Neilly. The couple lived in Frederick County and had children.
2. George Pearis, Jr. (ca 1720?-ca 1787?) married about 1744 possibly in Lancaster Co. PA Sarah Pepper (1725-before 1768). With her brothers' families they moved in March 1753 to a new frontier settlement on the North Fork of the Roanoke just west of Pearis Mountain, named for him, and just east of Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre three years later. They attempted to rear at least three children in this hazardous place.
3. + Richard Pearis (ca 1724/5-1794) may have had a first wife who lied leaving behind two daughters, unless they belonged to Rhoda, his Cherokee wife with whom he had three more children. He was a fur trader with the Overhill Cherokees in East Tennessee, and led both Indians and white troops during the French and Indian War, first to reach Fort Pitt. Afterward appointed Indian Agent there, in 1768 moved to Cherokee territory in South Carolina to be closer to his charges. After being double-crossed by Charleston "patriots" he became a British Lt. Colonel during the Revolution.
4. Robert Pearis (ca 1726-living 1764, probably much longer) married ca early 1750's Elizabeth Lemon (17   - living 1764) It appears they raised a family. He also was a Captain during the French & Indian War, and moved by 1764 to Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina where he was a merchant of some sort.

Note: It is possible there were older children who died in Ireland, but no evidence to suggest so. If so, George Sr. and Sarah may have been a little older than suggested above.

Christina's husband lot #6

See page 36 for evidence that William Neely owned ~~lt~~ #6 in the So Square of Salisbury NC 10 July 1766, acquired from his brother George

~~£50 22 Oct 1765 for several one pieces of property~~

13 May 1769 then sell lot #7 from Neely

Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and
Their Desc.
T. K. Cartmell page 517 says
says the estate of William Neely
furnished provisions for the "Minute men"
during the Fr/Ind war.
(quoting Hening's Revised Statutes Vol 7)

Same page cites Robert Pearis as
Minute man.
UP DATE & Enlarge this section
to show Caroline date

CHAPTER TWO - SISTER CHRISTIAN (PEARIS) NEALY

Because our descent is through the second son, Richard Pearis, we will report on the other three children first, then tell about our Richard. Chapter two will be about the shortest you ever saw, for so far not much has been learned about Christian's life or that of her family, though there are clues. If more is learned later, it will then be inserted as pages 7a, 7b, etc.

Christian Pearis, born perhaps about 1717/8, was the oldest. Her first name is an old-fashioned version of Christine. One reason we haven't learned more is that in that time and area, her married name with all the variant spellings of Neeley, Neally, Neilly and so on occurs with such frequency in old records throughout the valley, it is quite difficult to decipher who was who. Had she been our ancestress instead of many-great aunt, we would have tried harder, but this would have taken years we cannot spare. Many of the name later lived on the Forks of the Roanoke near her brother George Pearis, Jr., and I suspect but cannot prove some of them were her kin. These or others were associated with her brothers Robert and Richard. A William Nealy acquired business Lot #6 on the south side of the downtown square of Salisbury, North Carolina, from her brother Robert on 10 July 1766 but sold it two years later. He may have had other property there. A Christopher Nealy and a George Neally were both Loyalist Lt. Colonels from the Ninety-Six District of South Carolina during the Revolutionary War; along with Captain Richard Pearis of the same place. It is very tempting to believe those were her sons, Christopher (male version of Christian) for her, and George for her father.

The will of George Pearis, Sr., Christian's father, shows that her oldest son, John Nealy, received a bequest, but it does not reveal the given name of her husband. I think it was William, for a "Willm " Nealy witnessed her father's purchase of land from William Hoge in November 1750, also a sale by her brother Richard in May 1763 (see deed records elsewhere in book). Richard witnessed a sale or transfer of property from John Nielly to George Nielly in 1764--her sons?

Judging from her brothers' adventures, and by her father's will, one may assume she had a strong character and that she married well. Her brothers were exceptionally well educated, and only the upper crust in so poor a country as Ireland could then afford such a luxury. (Usually this would have been under some auspice provided by Presbyterians, even though forbidden by the English.) Apparently similar standards or higher applied to the Nealys, whom her father obviously held in high esteem.

It seems probable that Christian and William married in Ireland before emigrating, and that regardless of whether Jacob Hite talked to the clan there, she, her husband, and her brothers urged her parents to sail for America, fabled land of opportunity. Perhaps other Nealys came along, for there were so many wherever they lived later on. We regret not knowing when she and William died or more of their lives, but from the little we can tell, it appears as though they reared several very fine children.

CHAPTER THREE - GEORGE JUNIOR ON THE FORKS OF THE ROANOKE

George Pearis, Jr., born around 1720, came to America with the rest of his parents' family, but you couldn't tell that from Frederick County deed books which, replete with details of the many land transactions of his two younger brothers, do not mention his name at all, not even as a witness for someone else. The only records there concerning him are his father's will and the filing of his mother's estate when she died a little later.

Though his father's will left him only "one English crown," we may assume that was because he had probably received his "child's portion" earlier, very likely as a wedding gift when he set up his own household, which was customary. George's oldest son, then a minor, who carried on the family name as George Pearis III, was to receive the proceeds from a tract of land his grandfather had bought from Richard Morgan. (This is another purchase not mentioned in Frederick County deed books, and yet another reason to think the family probably got there before 1743!) The child's youngest uncle, Robert Pearis, was to care for the land for seven years, then sell it and give principal and interest to the lad, though if he died before reaching maturity the land was to go to Uncle Richard.

The wording of the will makes one wonder why George Jr. was not selected to manage his own son's legacy. Was he incompetent to manage the estate, or dishonest? Was that why he received no land himself? Probably he was neither of those things; a more likely explanation is that he simply was not there to manage his son's legacy, for we can see that he managed to be present a few years later to act as administrator of his mother's estate when she died. An incompetent or untrustworthy man would probably not have been selected by his mother for that task, and events detailed later show that he was in Virginia in Spring 1753, and that the boy survived.

Though it is not unlikely Uncle Robert continued to manage the estate as long as he remained in Frederick County, the interested parties must have agreed to a different arrangement among themselves, for another book about the area says*:

> "Jost Hite had 175 acres 'on the east side of Opeckon' Creek surveyed by Robert Brooks on 23 December 1734. Hite assigned this tract to Richard Morgan who sold it to 'George Pearis the elder' who devised by will (15 November 1749) to his grandson George Pearis who has assigned his interest in the same to Jacob Hite 10 October 1765 for the consideration of 80 pounds."

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*Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia by Cecil O'Dell (1995) page 82. This book lists as sources Robert Brook's Book of Surveys at VA Hist. Soc. and Hite/Fairfax Lawsuit, British copy pp 162-3, neither of which I have access to. There is a map showing the tract location.

So where was George? A Pepper Genealogy (see sketch on next page) shows he must have been in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, area where, about 1744, he married Sarah Pepper, born in 1725, daughter of Dr. Robert and Sarah (Patterson) Pepper from Ireland. Near that same time, Colonel James Patton, partner in a huge new land company attempting to recruit settlers to populate their holdings in southwest Virginia, went to crowded Lancaster County* where he visited many settlements (even the Dunkers at the Ephrata cloister, some of whom soon settled on Dunkard Bottom of New River.) He and his agents continued to come there off and on, touting various new holdings. By 1751 the company had fertile land on the forks of the Roanoke River, in those days called "Goose Creek."

Kegley's book.** pg. 102, says, "March 21, 1753, Grants by deed from James Patton, parcels of land from 4470 acres patented April 10, 1751, North Fork Goose Creek, John Robinson, Sr., 300 acres, corner John Robinson, Jr.; John Robinson, Jr., 872 acres, corner John Robinson, Sr., and Jas. Gorrell; William and James Gorrell, 620 acres corner James Gorrell and George Pearis; George Pearis, 271 acres, corner Tobias and Erich Bright; Elijah Isaac, 378 acres, corner Erich Bright and Thos. Hill; Erich Bright, 207 acres, corner to Geo. Pearis and Elijah Isaac; Thomas Hill, 70 acres, corner to Elijah Isaac and Benj. Ogle; Benj. Ogle, 200 acres, corner Thomas Hill and Elijah Isaac; William Pepper, 580 acres, corner to Francis Cyphers; Francis Cyphers, 400 acres, Barrens, corner to William Pepper." (This same information is in Augusta County Deed Book 5, 64-114 by Lyman Chalkey, extracts, Vol. III, 309.)

The map on a following page, reflects where this land was located, though names changed from time to time as land changed hands. Why the mountain was named for George Pearis is unclear; perhaps he hunted or had hunting rights there. There were others who owned more land than he, though who had the richest acres or best cleared is not stated.

The discrepancy between 1751, the patent date, and 1753 when the titles to the land were given, is due to the fact that title could not be given until after surveys were accomplished, which often took a few years--thus, they could have been on the land before March 1753. They must have been terribly busy clearing land and planting crops at first, and we know that George was also occupied in settling his mother's estate about that time. The books say, "In the spring of 1753, the inhabitants of the North Branch of Roanoke petitioned that they be relieved of road work on the road down Cottage Creek. Among these petitioners were Thomas Ingles, William Ingles, Tobias Bright, George Pearis, William Pepper, and Jacob Brown."

---

* History of Wythe County, Virginia, by Mary B. Kegley Pages 16-17 and 26 tell about Patton, his visit to Lancaster, the Dunkers and their SW Va settlements, and his murder by Indians.

**Kegley's Virginia Frontier, Joseph B. Kegley

PEPPER FAMILY SKETCH

Dr. Robert Pepper (ca 1690-17__) a surgeon, married Sarah Patterson in Ireland. They came to old Lancaster Co. PA about 1730. One son stayed in the east, but the others migrated to Pepper's Run, North Fork of the Roanoke (No. of present Blacksburg VA). His death date is not known, but Sarah lived to be about 100 years old, last living with son Samuel at Peppers Ferry near where, around 1800, she wandered into the woods, became disoriented, and died. Their children were:

1. Joshua Pepper (18 Jan 1720/1-28 Dec 1808) m. Elizabeth McCauley and last lived on a farm near Georgetown, Delaware (Delmarva Penninsula) having been in Hampshire Co. VA in 1784. 3 children.
2. William Pepper (ca 1722/3- ?) m.______and received a land patent from Col. James Patton in March 1753 where he lived near sister Sarah and brother-in-law George Pearis, Jr. on No. Fk. Roanoke. On 25 June 1756 he was taken captive by Indians & never heard from again. (Some speculate that he was eventually released in Ohio where he raised a new family--unproven. The Indians killed Col. Patton.) His daughter Sophia later married a cousin.
3. Robert Pepper, Jr. (ca 1724-7 Oct 1780) though wounded that day was not captured. He and a son Elisha were killed at the famous Battle of Kings Mountain-Revolutionary War. Son John lived in Guilford Co. NC. Catherine, his widow, on 5 Apr 1787 was living in Burke Co. NC when the census was taken by Capt. William Neil. Jonas Griffith, believed to have been our ancestor, was listed as a neighbor, and both families migrated to old Madison Co. KY the next year. (New River area tithes show a Jonas Griffith there in 1772 only, but long enough to get to know the Peppers and Pearises.) This data is highly important to us, for it suggests that the Pearises and Griffiths knew each other before going to Kentucky. They MAY have even been related. Was Catherine Pepper a Griffith? Or more likely, was Mrs. Griffith a Pepper? Or were both families related to a third, unknown family? I think they must have been more than just neighbors.
4. Sarah Pepper (25 April 1725- ca 1768?) married George Pearis, Jr., and they tried hard to raise three children in that very dangerous place. It appears they were plagued with disasters--see text.
5. Ruth Pepper (ca 1730?-) m. John Carson & lived in NC.
6. Samuel Pepper (20 Mar 1734-26 Oct 1804) b. Lancaster Co. PA, established Peppers Ferry across New River (present Radford VA). He was named in lawsuits involving his brother-in-law George Pearis. (Author Johnston said he married Malinda Pearis, daughter of Robert, probably a fallacy, for later Peppers can find no evidence this is so.) He did marry Naomi "Ami" Burke b. 1 Feb 1746, dau. of James Burke b. Limerick, Ireland, and Polly Bane. (Mr. Burke was discoverer of "Burke's Gardens, presently in Tazewell Co. VA and stepfather of Morris Griffith^2 (Methusalem^1).

Data on the Peppers for this sketch was extracted from: History of the Pepper Family in America and Allied Families by Florence Pepper Raya (1974) pages 13-14.

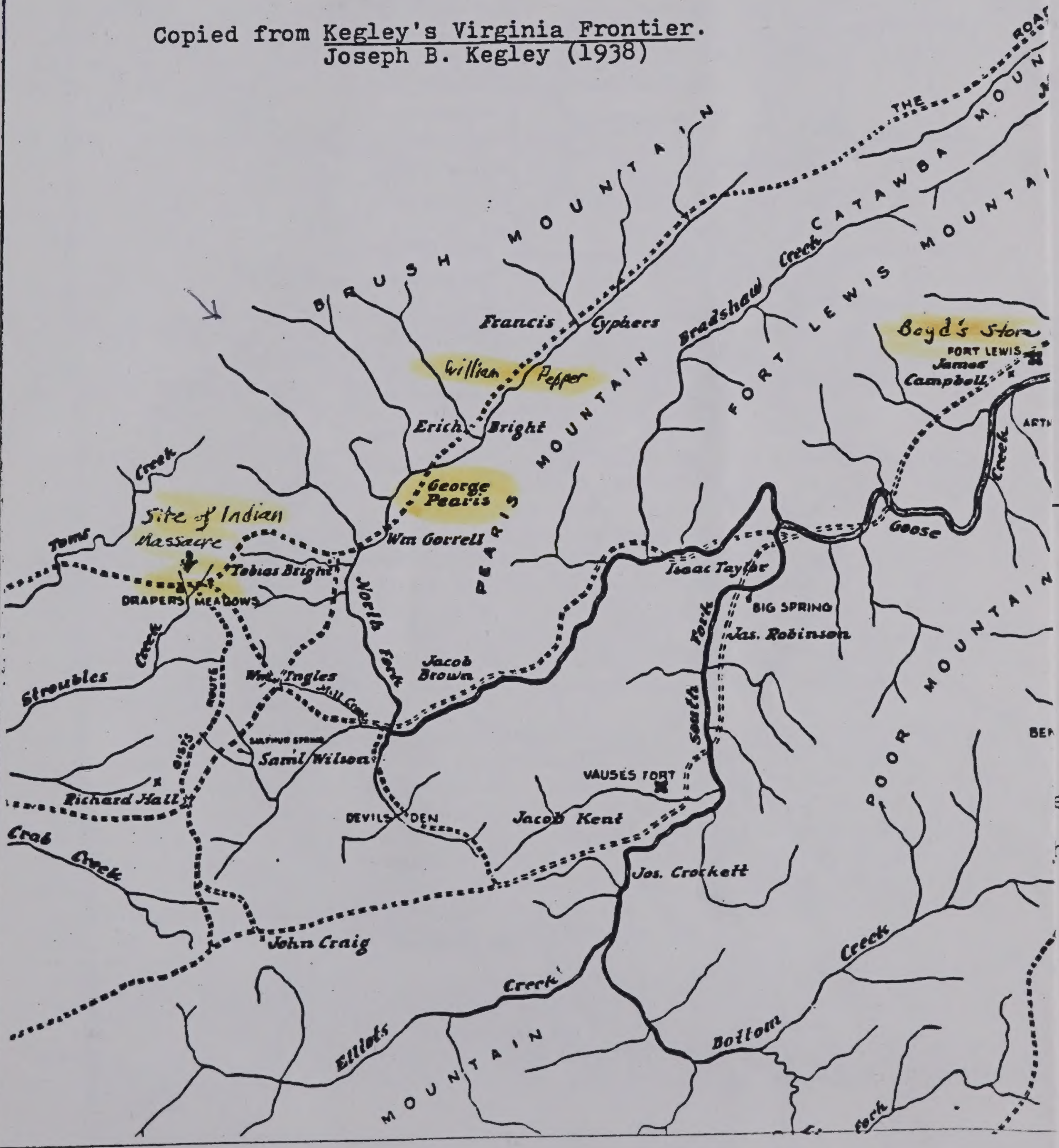
George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.

MAP OF THE

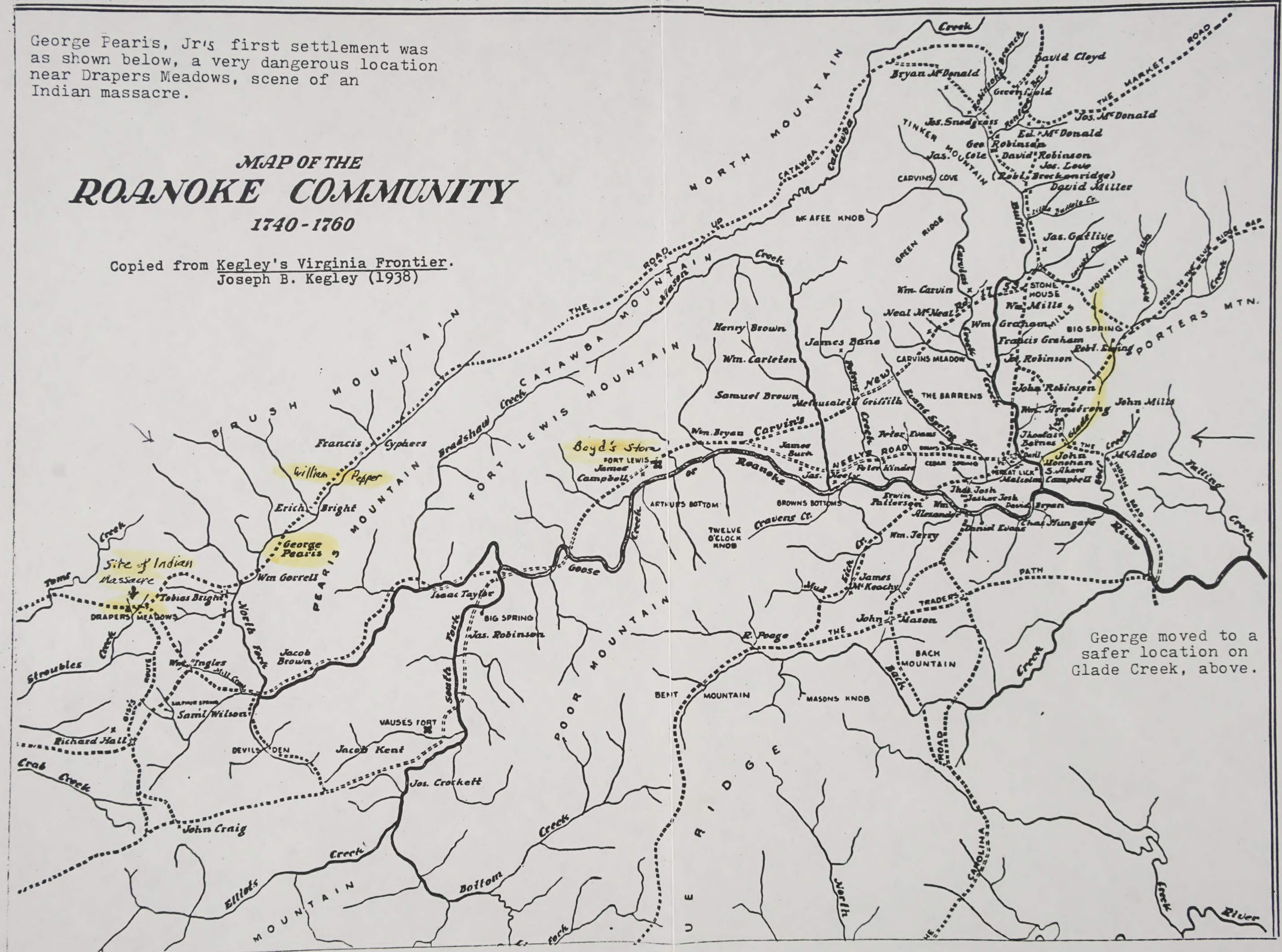
ROANOKE COMMUNITY

1740-1760

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)

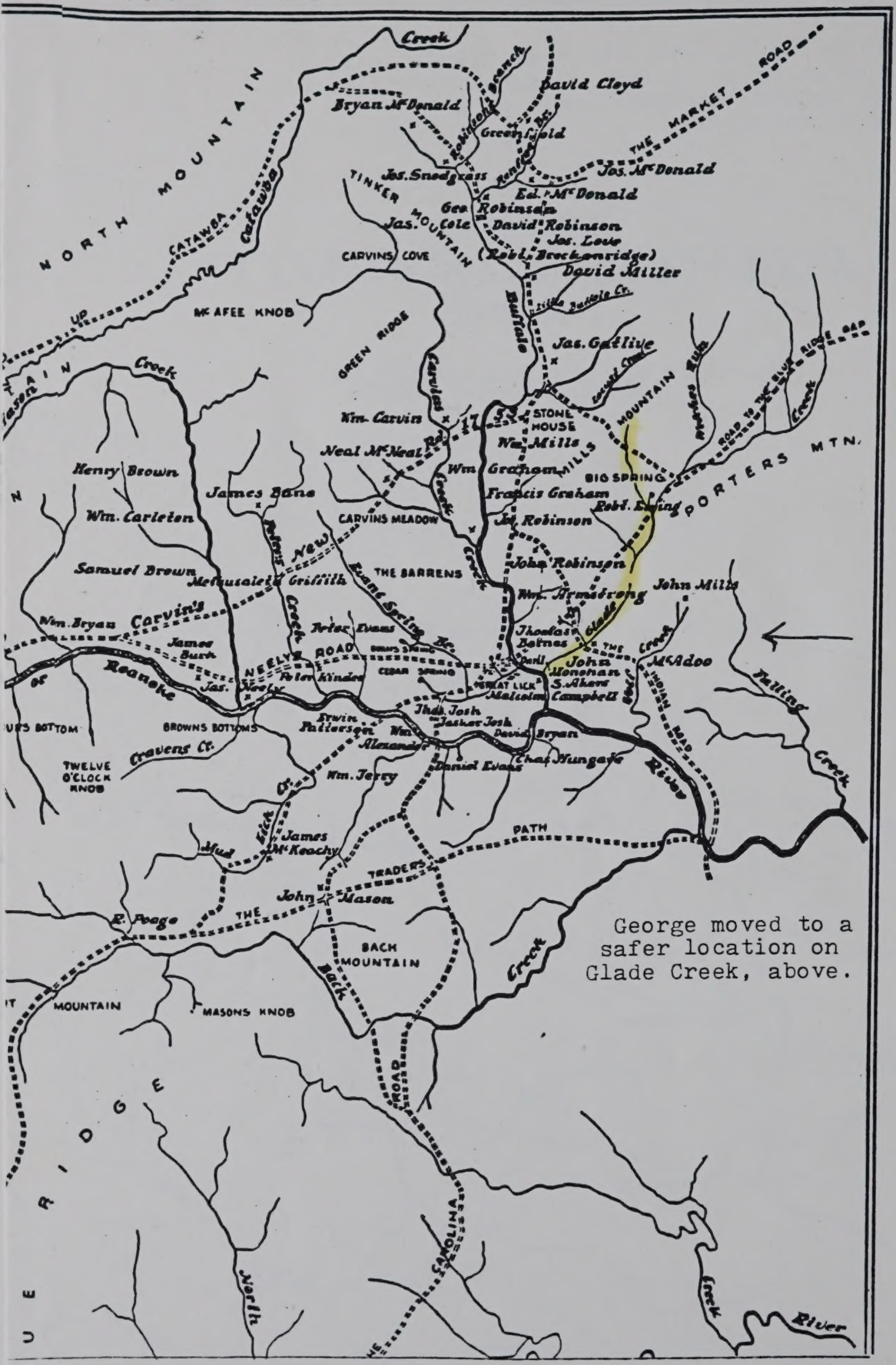

THE ROAD
CATAWBA MOUNTAIN
BRUSH MOUNTAIN
Francis
Cyphers
Bradshaw Creek
FORT LEWIS MOUNTAIN
Boyd's Store
FORT LEWIS
James Campbell
William Pepper
Erich
Bright
MOUNTAIN
George Pearis
PEARIS
Creek
Site of Indian Massacre
Toms
Tobias Bright
Wm Gorrell
DRAPERS MEADOWS
Creek
North Fork
Isaac Taylor
BIG SPRING
Jas. Robinson
Fork
Goose
Creek
Strouble's
Wm. Ingles
Mill Creek
Jacob Brown
South
POOR MOUNTAIN
SULPHUR SPRING
Saml Wilson
VAUSES FORT
Richard Hall
DEVILS DEN
Jacob Kent
Crab Creek
Jos. Crockett
John Craig
Creek
Creek
Elliots
Bottom
MOUNTAIN
Fork
ART
BEN

George Pearis, Jr's first settlement was as shown below, a very dangerous location near Drapers Meadows, scene of an Indian massacre.


MAP OF THE
ROANOKE COMMUNITY
1740-1760
Site of Indian massacre
George Pearis
William Pepper
Boyd's Store
Drapers Meadows
Tobias Bright
Wm Gorrell
Erich Bright
Francis Cyphers
Brush Mountain
Pearis Mountain
Fort Lewis Mountain
Catawba Mountain
North Mountain
Poor Mountain
Blue Ridge
Tinker Mountain
Porters Mtn.
Bach Mountain
Bent Mountain
Masons Knob
McAfee Knob
Green Ridge
Fort Lewis
James Campbell
Roanoke River
Glade Creek
Carvin's Creek
Mason Creek
Goose Creek
Back Creek
North Fork
South Fork
Catawba Creek
Bradshaw Creek
Toms Creek
Strouble's Creek
Crab Creek
Elliots Creek
Bottom Creek
Tinker Creek
Falling Creek
The Road Up Catawba
The Market Road
Neelys Road
The Traders Path
Carolina Road
Road to the Blue Ridge Gap
Big Spring
Vauses Fort
Devils Den
Jas. Robinson
Isaac Taylor
Jacob Brown
Wm. Ingles
Saml Wilson
Richard Hall
Jacob Kent
Jos. Crockett
John Craig
Henry Brown
Wm. Carleton
Samuel Brown
Methuselah Griffith
Wm. Bryan
James Bane
James Burk
Jas. Neely
Peter Kinder
Peter Evans
Erwin Patterson
Wm. Alexander
Wm. Jerry
James McKeachy
John Mason
R. Poage
Daniel Evans
Chas. Hungate
David Bryan
Malcolm Campbell
John Monohan
S. Akers
John McAdoo
John Mills
Wm. Armstrong
John Robinson
Jas. Robinson
Robt. Ewing
Francis Graham
Wm. Graham
Wm. Mills
Stone House
Neal McNeal
Wm. Carvin
Carvins Meadow
Carvins Cove
The Barrens
Jas. Gatlive
David Miller
(Robt. Breckenridge)
Jos. Love
David Robinson
Geo. Robinson
Geo. Cole
Jas. Cole
Jos. Snodgrass
Ed. McDonald
Jos. McDonald
Bryan McDonald
Greenfield
David Cloyd
Browns Bottoms
Arthurs Bottom
Twelve O'Clock Knob
Cravens Cr.
Mud Lick Cr.
Cedar Spring
Great Lick

Copied from Kegley's Virginia Frontier.
Joseph B. Kegley (1938)

George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.


Creek
NORTH MOUNTAIN
Catawba
CATAWBA
UP
Bryan McDonald
Robinson's Branch
David Cloyd
Greenfield
THE MARKET ROAD
Jos. Snodgrass
Jos. McDonald
Ed. McDonald
TINKER MOUNTAIN
Geo Robinson
Jas. Cole
David Robinson
Jos. Love
(Robt. Breckenridge)
David Miller
CARVINS COVE
Buffalo
Little Buffalo Cr.
McAFEE KNOB
GREEN RIDGE
Jas. Gatlive
Creek
Carvins Creek
Wm. Carvin
STONE HOUSE
Wm. Mills
MOUNTAIN
ROAD TO THE BLUE RIDGE GAP
Creek
PORTERS MTN.
Neal McNeal
Wm Graham
HILLS
BIG SPRING
Henry Brown
James Bane
Francis Graham
Robt. Ewing
Wm. Carleton
CARVINS MEADOW
Jo. Robinson
New
Samuel Brown
Methusaleh Griffith
THE BARRENS
John Robinson
Evans Spring Br.
Wm. Armstrong
John Mills
Wm. Bryan
Carvin's
Peter Evans
Thomas Barnes
Glade
THE
Creek
James Burk
NEELYS ROAD
CEDAR SPRING
John Monohan
McAdoo
Roanoke
Jas. Neely
Peter Kinder
GREAT LICK
S. Akers
Malcolm Campbell
INDIAN ROAD
Falling Creek
BROWNS BOTTOMS
Thos. Josh
Jasper Josh
Erwin Patterson
Wm. Alexander
David Bryan
TWELVE O'CLOCK KNOB
Cravens Cr.
Daniel Evans
Chas. Hungate
River
Wm. Jerry
Lick Cr.
PATH
James McKeachy
Mud
TRADERS
John Mason
R. Poage
THE
BACK MOUNTAIN
Back Creek
MOUNTAIN
MASONS KNOB
RIDGE
ROAD
CAROLINA
North
Creek
River

George moved to a safer location on Glade Creek, above.

On 9 Oct 1754 Joseph McDonald acquired Erich Bright's 207 acres for £54, corner George Pearis, thus becoming the new neighbor between him and William Pepper. On 29 January 1755 George Pearis had 35 acres next to his patent land surveyed, raising his acreage to 306.

In 1755, the year of Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, life suddenly changed for the worse. Our people lived on the most perilous of all frontiers, the westernmost edge of white civilization. French-led or inspired northern Indians immediately started infiltrating all the creek valleys and mountain passes.* On 5 July several people were killed on nearby New River. The famous Draper's Meadow Massacre followed on 8 July 1755, in which their community leader, Colonel James Patton was killed, as were Casper Barrier, Mrs. Draper and one child. Mrs. Ingles and two children, Mrs. Draper Jr., and Henry Leonard were taken prisoner. James Cuill was wounded. On 12 August Morris Griffith** was taken prisoner but escaped, afterwards becoming an extremely bitter Indian fighter. Nine people were murdered in February and March.

As you will notice on the map, Drapers Meadows was just west of our George and his neighbors, in easy walking distance and connected by a narrow road which gave the savages easy access to their cabins. Being in so much peril, inhabitants started taking refuge at Fort Vause, which was not at first really a fort but an extra-strong dwelling built by Ephraim Vause as his own home. (Later on this was rebuilt and strengthened by Captain Peter Hogg and his men.) Proving its vulnerability, Ephraim Vause's house was attacked on 25 June 1756 by more than a hundred Indians and about 25 French Canadians led by Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. The defenders, no more than 25 men led by Capt. John Smith, were soon forced to surrender, and the place burned to the ground.***

Captain Smith, Peter Looney & William Bratton were taken prisoner but eventually got away. Those taken prisoner who did not escape were Joseph Smith; William Pepper; Mrs. Vause herself with two daughters, a negro, two young Indians and a servant man; Ivan Medley & 2 daughters; James Bell; Christopher Hicks; ____Cole, ____Graham; Benjamin Davies; and Mrs. Mary Ingles. Killed were Lt. John Smith, John Tracey, John Ingles & John Robinson. Wounded were William, Thomas & Samuel Robinson and Robert Pepper. (Robt. Pepper lived to fight again at Kings Mountain during the Revolution, but in that battle he and a son were killed.) Vause was away at the time.

Soon all kinds of bad things started happening to George Pearis, but the cause is a mystery. It appears as though he and most of his family must have contracted some serious illness, from which some of them died, including his wife Sarah and at least one child, a daughter. We really cannot read between the lines, but Augusta County Court Records 3 March 1759 indicate the case of Yuille (Cuill?) vs. Parrish drug on & on--Thos. Yuille testified on 22 Feb 1762. (signed Wade Netherland, Cumberland County--see if he can be got at Bedford.) This is too hard to interpret, and sounds as

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*History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers, pages 56-60

**Morris Griffith is mentioned in Pepper Family sketch on pg 12 and on page 63 as an "Associator."

***The Papers of George Washington Vol 3:260-1 also report on the exciting escape of Peter Looney and rescue of Captain John Smith.

though George were trying to evade judgment.) George cannot have been that hard to find, for Augusta County Deed Book 9, page 497 shows that he had moved to a safer and more crowded place. On 9 June 1761 he purchased 220 acres on Glade Creek of the Roanoke from John McFall for L39. This was in a cross-roads thickly-settled community in comparison to the other place, which he still owned, and less exposed to danger, though by that time the war was winding down. The land had first been patented in 1756 to John Boen (Bowen?).

He witnessed a deed for a neighbor on nearby Buffalow Creek on 17 May 1762. Borden's Executors to James Davis, husbandman, for L165, 436 acres corner to patent line & William Todd, Robert Young's & patent line, Buffalow Creek, Low Todd's line, corner to Peter Wallace. Witnesses: George Pearis, John Neily, Joseph Gray. (Question--could this John Neily have been his nephew?) Some Neeleys were large landowners in that area.

But we wish the Augusta Court Order Books were more explicit--they mostly just provide captions. 5 July 1763. Samuel Pepper vs. George Pearis. (His brother-in-law is suing him and it gets tangled up in other cases) 27 March 1764. Boyd's Estate vs. George Pearis, at Bedford Store. (Boyd, who lived near Fort Lewis ran a huge trading post, and George must have run up a bill which the heirs are trying to collect.) 22 June 1764 County Court Proceedings show a long list of people who cannot be found, among them George Pearis. The economy has gone sour after the war, some residents have lost their shirts, and many people have left their lands and their debts behind and gone to North and South Carolina where there are still cheap fertile lands awaiting settlement. It could be that George has really left, by now his brother Robert was a merchant in Salisbury, North Carolina--he could have taken refuge for a while.*

I wish someone could explain this next one. The Boyds are still trying to collect old debts, and it is apparent George is not the only one who owes money. 10 March 1764. Garnishment vs. John Henderson, in behalf of Alexander Boyd vs. Samuel Pepper. John Henderson swears that he bought two tracts of land, through Robert McGee, from George Pearis, North Fork of Roanoke, alias Goose Creek, in 1766.

Kegley, page 616, helps us understand the sale. He says that according to Henderson's testimany, he bought the land in 1766, but received the deed for the 271 acres (this does not include that extra 35 acres surveyed later) in 1774, from George Pearis, Jr., acting as attorney for his father. (NOTE: This proves that George Jr. now called Senior because his father has been long dead and he has a son George III, did have such a son, the little grandson in the Frederick County will.)

---

*But see page 36, item 86 which shows that his brother Robert transferred lots to a George Pearis in October 1768. I took that to be Robert's son, at first.

Redo page - he was in NC

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Augusta Court Judgments (B) August 1768. George Pearis, debtor to Archibald Fresher, for sundries and labor. To cooking and washing for six months for him and his daughter, at 6/. Credit by one wagon body at 6/.

This one is very sad. We can see that George paid the debt, though he had to give up his wagon body to do so. His wife Sarah must have been dead, his sons grown and gone. He was probably sick himself and trying to care for a sick daughter. Neither one was able to cook and do laundry. How old was this child? Was she the mysterious Malinda Pearis? Though of course she could not have been her own Uncle Samuel Pepper's non-existent first wife! Was there really any Malinda? Did they have advanced tuberculosis or malaria? He was not in Carolina in 1768, despite the fact that both his brothers were, though Richard still owned property to the north. George's brothers did not help him. They may not even have known of his troubles, though you would think his niece Sarah (Pearis) Teter, living on Crab Creek, would have. Apparently he managed to hang on to the land on Glade Creek. It seems as though his sons must have come to his rescue. Maybe he got better.

Kegley, page 551, says - "200 acres patented to John McFall 1753, sold to George Pearis 1761, and (sold) to John Howard in 1787 by Robert Pearis, son of George." So evidently George was dead in 1787. This proves he had a son Robert as well as a son George. Probably the daughter had passed away by now.

We know from other sources that George III and this Robert, as well as their Uncle Samuel Pepper, were now living on New River, and that Samuel Pepper was running his famous ferry. As a matter of fact, George III had one too, farther north, but we will get to that later. And Robert moved to Kentucky (he may have been living there already- some sources say the winter of 1779/80, with his first cousin, Sarah (Pearis) Teter, Uncle Richard's daughter. Others say "about 1790.") Either way, he could have sold his father's homestead.

It was not part of my original objective to tell about the children of Many-great Granduncle George, but if I don't there might be those who claim this whole story is wrong. It is no fun to criticize a prominent historian whose popular book, written in 1906, is still being sold (1998 reprint, Heritage Books). My knowledge of New River Valley history is miniscule compared to his, and there are probably lots of mistakes in my story though I try hard, but this is a subject that simply must not go unchallenged! (See my critique on next page, proving Mr. Johnston's theory was impossible.) He said George's sons George III and Robert were sons of Robert Alexander Parris, Jr. who was actually a couple of years younger than they were, and descended from a famous South Carolina Huguenot.

It would be great fun to be descended from that great man, but we just plain are not.

PEARIS FAMILY

The following short review refutes historian David E. Johnston's claim that the Southwest Virginia Pearises were of South Carolina Huguenot descent.

A History of Middle New River Valley and Contiguous Territory by David E. Johnston (1906) page 445, says -

> "John McCrady, in his History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government (1670-1719) gives considerable prominence to Col. Alexander Pearis, whom he shows to have been Commissioner of Free Schools, Commissioner for Building Churches, Member of House of Commons..a military officer and one of the judges to try pirates, and as commander of militia in the revolution of 1719.
>
> "Col. Alexander Pearis had a son, Alexander, who made..conveyance of property in 1722-26. Alexander Jr. had a son, John Alexander, as shown by his will probated August 1752...last mentioned John Alexander had a son Robert who spelled his name as did his father, John Alexander "Pearis." This Robert Pearis died about 1781; and he had a daughter Malinda who married Samuel Pepper who moved to the New River Valley prior to 1770, and located in the place where, about 1780, he established a ferry, and which place has since been known as Peppers. His two brothers-in-law, George and Robert Alexander Pearis, sons of the preceding Robert, came with him on or about the same time.... An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born February 16th 1746, and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26th 1771. Robert Alexander Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe and...moved to Kentucky..."

South Carolina Historical & Genealogical Register Vol XXVI #3 pp.137-145 (July 1925) esp. pp. 144-5 has a short history of of the descendants of Col. Alexander Parris. Many issues of this periodical tell of this gallant Huguenot's career, but do not really concern us, for the following information has been extracted.

Col. Alexander Parris (1661-1736) m. Mary Collins (-1698) & had 5 children-
1. John Parris (d.1728) m._____His son John Alexander died as a minor.
2. Alexander Parris Jr. (16 -19 Feb. 1754) m (1) ca 1720 Elizabeth Stanyanne (1704-1738) and had by her:
    - I. James Parris (1724-) m. 29 June 1743 Sarah Benison
    - II. John Alexander Parris(bp 1727-1752) m. 25 Jan 1750 Elizabeth Collins (a cousin?). They had only one son:
        - A. John Alexander Parris, Jr., born after 1750 (and thus about the same age as "Robert Alexander Pearis" and younger than George Pearis born 1746, said by Johnston to have been his son!
    - III. Elizabeth Parris (1727-1729) died young

    Alexander Parris Jr.(-1754) m (2) his mistress Mary Cahill & had·
    - IV. Mary Parris (bp. 1738-illegitimate per St. Helen's register.)
    - V. Jane Parris (June 1741-)
3. Ann Parris m. John Davis
4. _____Parris m. Peter Boynton
5. Jane Parris m. before 1724 John Dela Bere.

It would be interesting to us if this family really spelled the name "Pearis" sometimes, but I could find no indication this was true. Where Mr. Johnston got his mistaken information would be interesting to know-McCrady did not give that lineage, for I read part of his book. To be fair to Johnston, such data is easier to obtain now than it was in 1906.

Many people were taken in by that book, including DAR Members, as one can tell from lineage books. (e.g. Vol 129:285, entry #128,905) Even the scholarly Mrs. Kellogg quoted it in one of her books. * The Peppers, through Mrs. Raya, corrected two mistakes but accepted the Huguenot premise because so noted an author said so; but they recognized that George's sons were his, not some Robert Alexander Pearis's, whom they did not trace. (They were tracing Peppers, not Pearises.) Also, they could find no Malinda Pearis, said to have been that man's daughter and to have married Samuel Pepper--pretty ridiculous, for that would have been her own uncle! They knew whom he really did marry.

Please pardon me for being ANGRY because of all the time I wasted searching for the mythical Huguenot ancestor brave or dumb enough to buck the tide of people coming south, and migrate north to rocky mountain valleys on the then Indian-invested Southwest Virginia frontier when there was so much fertile, cheaper, safer unclaimed land waiting for the taking for hundreds of miles in between there and eastern South Carolina, where he was supposed to have come from.

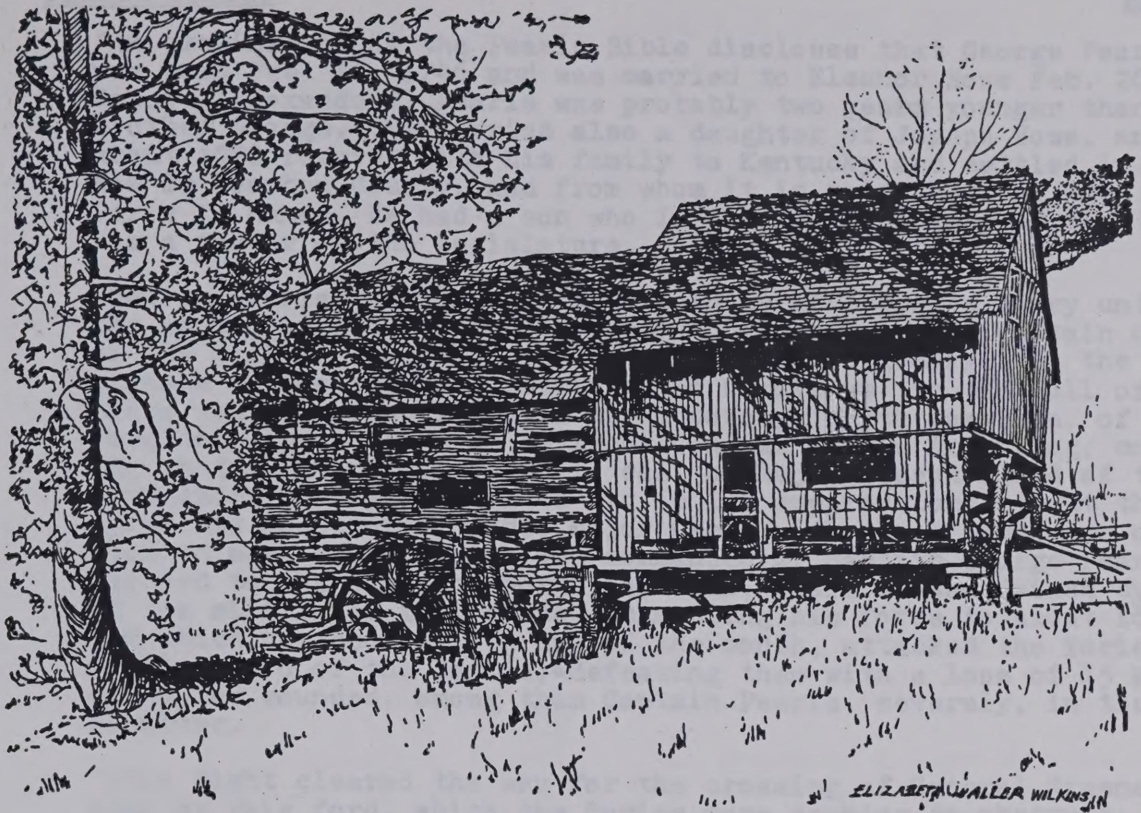
If Johnston had lived long enough to read Kegley's Virginia Frontier (1938) he would have known better. He did do a pretty fair job of telling about later generations, for after the Revolutionary War some very good local records were kept. Both he and the Peppers also consulted family Bible records. Much more was told about son George than son Robert, because the latter moved to Kentucky taking his Bible with him, which they could not then consult.

George Pearis III (16 Feb 1746-4 Nov 1810) unlike his unlucky father, became a leading man in his community. The middle name "Nealy" which he gave to his son George IV is added proof he was indeed of our family, and was commemorating some descendant of his aunt Christian (Pearis) Nealy. Now I will quote Johnston's account of him, putting some incorrect or questionable data in brackets. He gives some fascinating Revolutionary War data about him, pages 445-6:

> "Samuel Pepper removed to New River Valley prior to 1770 and located to the place where about 1780 he established a ferry..which has since been known as Peppers. His two (brothers-in-law) George and Robert (Alexander?) Pearis (sons of the preceding Robert) came with him, or about the same time. At the date of the coming of the Pepper and Pearises, in fact before that time lived..a gentleman by the name of Joseph Howe, who had some pretty daughters, and it did not take long for these young (Huguenots) to fall in love with these girls, at least two of them.

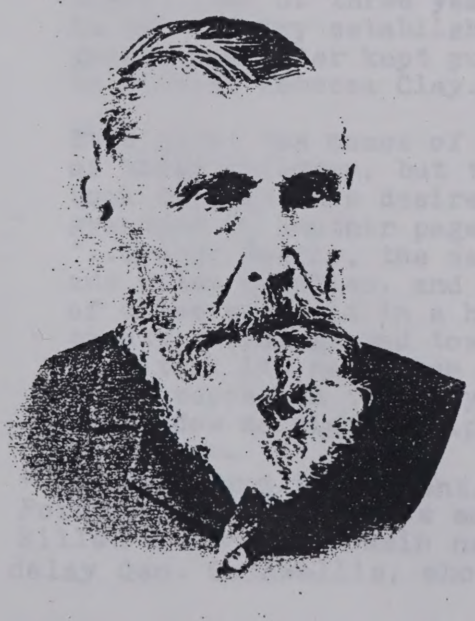
---

*Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779 by Louise Phelps Kellogg (1916) pages 274-5, prints a letter of 4 April 1779 from Col. William Preston to Col. William Fleming in which he mentions Major Cloyd, also "I am doubtful if Pearis's Fort on the River will be evacuated." (This was during a perilous time when British-inspired Cherokees and Tories were actively raiding the area. But she quotes Johnston in a footnote, calling Pearis a Huguenot.)



Old McDonald Mill

This old mill was situated on North Fork of Roanoke on property of Joseph McDonald acquired 9 Oct 1754. His farm separated those of brothers-in-law William Pepper and George Pearis, Jr. -Kegleys Virginia Frontier page 616.



CAPT. GEO. W. PEARIS

LINEAGE OF THE MAN AT LEFT

1. George Pearis I (ca 1690-1752) m. in Ireland Sarah________
2. George Pearis II (ca 1720-ca 1786) m. ca 1744 Sarah Pepper
3. George Pearis III (1746-1810) m.(2) 5 Oct 1784 Rebecca Clay
4. George Nealy Pearis IV (1786-18__) m. 9 Apr 1808 Elizabeth Howe
5. George W. Pearis V (1810-1898) never married. He is the man in the photograph.

Photo From Johnston, History of Middle New River Valley & Contiguous Terr. (1906)

"An examination of the Pearis Bible discloses that George Pearis was born Feb. 16, 1746 and was married to Eleanor Howe Feb. 26, 1771. Robert (Alexander?) Pearis was probably two years younger than his brother George. He married also a daughter of Joseph Howe, and about 1790 removed with his family to Kentucky and settled in what now is Bourbon County, and from whom it is said that the town of Paris is named. He had a son who in the early history of that state was a member of the Legislature.

"George Pearis remained in the vicinity of Pepper's Ferry until the spring of 1782; prior to that he had been made a Captain of one of the militia companies of the County of Montgomery. On the advance of the British Army into the Carolinas, in the fall of 1780, there was a Tory uprising in Surry County, North Carolina, of such formidable proportion as to impel General Martin Armstrong, commanding that military district, to call on Major Joseph Cloyd of the Montgomery County militia to aid in its suppression. About the first day of October, 1780, Major Cloyd with three companies of mounted men, one of which was commanded by Captain George Pearis, marched to the State of North Carolina, where he was joined by some of the militia of that state, augmenting his force to about 160, men which he, on the 14th day of the month, attacked the Tories at Shallow Ford of the Yadkin,*defeating them with a loss of 15 killed and a few wounded, among them Captain Pearis, severely, in the shoulder.

"This fight cleared the way for the crossing of General Greene's army at this ford, which the Tories were seeking to obstruct. Captain Pearis returned home wounded and, in addition to his suffering from his wound, had the misfortune to lose his wife by death in a few days after his return, she dying November 14th. Captain Pearis' wound disabled him from performing further military service and, having purchased from Captain William Ingles about the year 1779 for L70...a tract of 204 acres on the New River, whereupon is now situated Pearisburg...in the spring of 1782..erected his dwelling there...two or three years after Captain Pearis made his location, he had a ferry established across the New River and had a stock of goods, and later kept public entertainment. On October 5, 1784, he married Rebecca Clay."

This gives the names of his children of the two marriages and some of their children, but that is beyond our scope. One can read the book if these are desired--but you can look at the photo of his grandson on another page for any family resemblance. This adds "..George Pearis, the settler, was long a magistrate of Montgomery and Giles Counties, and sat in the courts of both...The first court of Giles was held in a house belonging to him. The land for the county buildings and town was given by him, and the town of Pearisburg took its name from him. He died on November 4, 1810, and his ashes repose in the burying ground of the farm on which he died... His widow married Philip Peters & died April 15, 1844."

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* Shallow Ford is presently near Huntsville, Rowan Co. NC on the Forsyth Co. line. It is said that during that battle, Capt. Pearis killed a Tory, a cousin named Burke, with his own sword. They did delay Gen. Cornwallis, who was pursuing Gen. Greene. (See Page 164 Insert.)

CHAPTER FOUR - CAPTAIN ROBERT PEARIS

Robert Pearis, born about 1727 and still living in the 1770's or later was the youngest son. Less is known about his descendants than those of his brothers, for he moved to Carolina in 1764, where such records are sparse. Most likely there was a son George and maybe an Ely, perhaps others. He would have been the kind of ancestor one could have been proud of--brave, enterprising, and successful, and a captain in the French & Indian War.

After his father's will was proved in court in 1752, in which Robert inherited the family homestead and was entrusted with his mother Sarah's care, Robert does not appear in the record until three years later. By that time he was married to Elizabeth Lemon and possessor of a valuable, strategically-located 7-acre commercial lot in Winchester, fronting on the famous Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia to the south. The road bifurcated when it neared the Roanoke. where a gentle slope crossed the Blue Ridge. The east branch went south to Carolina. The west branch continued southwest up the valley until it reached Long Island of the Holston. Business on such a heavily-traveled road could not have helped being brisk, with all the people needing provisions. He sold beef and other foodstuff, what else I don't know. His father-in-law, James Lemon, owned two lots there, willed to his two sons.

As told in the previous chapter, when Braddock's Army was defeated on the Monongahela in early July 1755, the vengeful savages poured in waves down upon the settlers through every road or path and every opening in the mountains. A sketch on page 23 shows that an extension of Braddock's Road went through Winchester on its way to Cumberland, Maryland, crossing Babb's Run, Pearis Run, and Hogue Creek as part of the route. Northern Indians led by French officers took quick advantage of this easy access to plunder goods and livestock, burn homes, and murder the terrified populace. At this point in time hordes of frightened settlers fled, either to Carolina or back to more populated areas farther east.

Governor Dinwiddie reacted by appointing Colonel George Washington as head of Virginia Colonial forces, his headquarters to be in Winchester, as the worst-hit part of the frontier closest to the enemy. The Colony was totally unprepared for this crisis, with antiquated laws that obstructed the Colonel's duties in recruiting and maintaining an effective army. (Space does not permit a long discussion of that topic here, but many of the problems are told in the Teter Family story, a companion to the Pearis Family.) Published writings of Washington show that in October 1755, Robert Pearis was employed to do scouting work. He was also paid small amounts to provision troops, as shown in several quotations on the following page*

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*The Papers of George Washington (1983) by W. W. Abbott, editor Vol 2 page 119 and Vol 3 pages 122-3, 230-1, and 384. Also see Vol 2 pages 234-8 and repeated in this present book pages 57-8 re engagement with the enemy on Cacapeon River, possibly about him instead of brother Richard.

Garrison Orders by Washington

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here, to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggons (except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the Light-horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr. John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid de Camp.

Footnote says "Philip Babb (1731-1762) amd John Dow (d. 1763) were both residents of Frederick Co. At time of death, Babb owned the plantation Great Marsh, and a home and lot in Winchester. Dow lived in the town. The home of Robert Pearis, an officer in the Frederick Co. Militia, was a few miles NW of Winchester. GW ordered march of the cattle guard put off a day on 17 Oct. and again on 18 Oct."

Memorandum Concerning the Militia - Winchester 13 May 1756

An express came from Colo. Peyton informing that a Sergt & 14 men deserted last Night from him at Paris's Fort and desireing a Reinforcement. I was oblig'd to Countermand the Orders to King George Militia &..send them to join him with orders to remain in Ashby's Fort...Many complaints from the officers of Militia about insufficiency of allowance of provisions for their men, (tho they have lb. meat & like qty of flour wch is same as the soldiers have)...

Footnote says "Pearis's (or Paris's) fort was probably the home of Capt. Robert Pearis of Frederick Co. militia. Pearis owned land and a substantial house a few miles west of Winchester near a gap in the mountains. The fort was..near the new road to Hog-creek, a tributary of Back Creek. The 1754 printing of the Fry-Jefferson map shows "Paris" in this area."

Orders - Winchester Monday 28 June 1756

The troops are not to march until to-morrow morning at five o'clock... A Court of Enquiry, to consist of all the Captains in town and subalterns to sit immediately to examine into the dispute between Adjutant Livingston and Commissary Rutherford--Ensign McCarty and Mr. Paris. All evidences to attend--the Court will sit at ten of the clock....

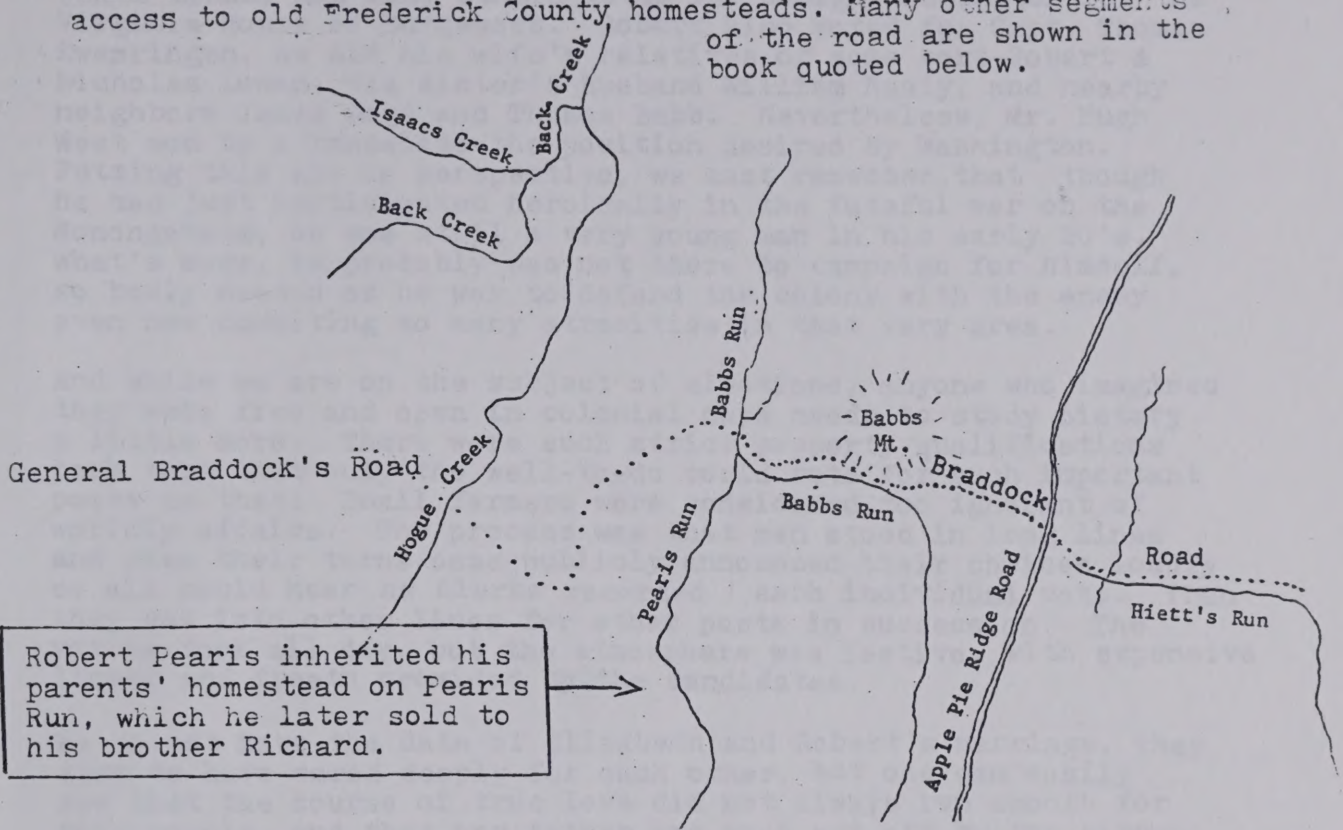
Footnote says "Although it is not known what was at issue or how the men divided, it is not surprising that Denis McCarty was involved He clearly was the most contentious officer ..from the time he volunteered in fall 1755 until he resigned his commission in Nov 1756."

From Thomas, Lord Fairfax - Sep. the 1st 1756

Yours I receivd last night with the melancholly account of the People on Potomack deserting their Plantations. I had ordered Captain Paris to relieve Cap. Caton with 36 men from several companies..as I had notice of disagreement between him & Captain Sweringen....Cap. Paris is to meet his detachment at John Hytes on Friday next to proceed to Potomack..

PEARIS FAMILY

This sketch demonstrates how the French & Indians had such easy access to old Frederick County homesteads. Many other segments of the road are shown in the book quoted below.



Robert Pearis inherited his parents' homestead on Pearis Run, which he later sold to his brother Richard.

From: Braddock's Road Through the Virginia Colony - by Walter S. Hough (Vol. VII, Winchester-Frederick County Hist. Soc Publ 170)
Pages 44-6

"Before the road to the West was officially opened it was traveled by early settlers going into the wilderness. In Frederick County the road was known as "The New Road," "The Great Road," and later "Red Stone Road"; the latter referred to its use by Friends (Quakers) on route to their first meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains, namely Westland and Red Stone near Red Stone Creek a few miles east of Brownsville. After Braddock's Expedition it was sometimes called "Sir John's Road."

"Washington no doubt traveled the road when he went over the Allegheny Mountains to the Forks of the Ohio on a mission sent by Governor Dinwiddie in the autumn of 1752. He states, "From thence (Alexandria) we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, etc., and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek."...On May 27, General Braddock ordered a captain's guard and 30 wagons to return from Fort Cumberland to Winchester to get provisions that were previously stored there. It is highly probable that the wagon came into Winchester by the shortest road available from Back Creek, namely the Wappacomma road through Indian Hollow. This might account for the frequent repeated legend that Braddock's army went through Winchester and Hollow. It is probable that the arriving Seamen used that road to get into Winchester Aug. 5 when on their way back to embark at Hampton. The Wappacomma road is the only road leading to the west from Winchester shown on the Jefferson & Frye Map issued in 1754 ... Braddock's army marched westward from the Gainesboro area over a road opened only a few years before 1755.

"Babbs Run and Pearis Run Confusion seems to exist in naming Pearis Run and Babbs Run...Pearis Run has been known as "Parrish" Run, Parletta Run and now at the bridge where US 522 crosses the strea is a highway sign calling it "Babbs Run."..Babbs run turns eastwardat a point near the south end o present artificial Lake St. Clair. It passes Cedar Grove and Babbs Mountain before turning south and does not extend to the highway. Babbs Run gets it name from Thomas Babb, one of the earliest landowners, 600 acres, along its banks. His will was probated Nov. 4, 1760. Pearis Run continues southward from the artificial lake, crosses US 522, and originates on the farm formerly known as the County Home, hence the name "Parrish" Run. Pearis Run derived its name from one of the earlie settlers along its drains, George Pearis who died in the early 1750's."

An old voting list shows that on 11 December 1755 Robert Pearis, James Lemon, and many others voted for George Washington for the Virginia House of Burgesses. Robert also voted for Capt. Thomas Swearingen, as did his wife's relatives of some sort-Robert & Nicholas Lemon, his sister's husband William Nealy, and nearby neighbors James Hoge and Thomas Babb. Nevertheless, Mr. Hugh West won by a landslide the position desired by Washington. Putting this all in perspective, we must remember that though he had just participated heroically in the fateful war on the Monongahela, he was still a very young man in his early 20's. What's more, he probably was not there to campaign for himself, so badly needed as he was to defend the colony with the enemy even now commiting so many atrocities in that very area.

And while we are on the subject of elections, anyone who imagines they were free and open in colonial days needs to study history a little more. There were such strict property qualifications back then that only the well-to-do could vote for such important posts as that. Small farmers were considered too ignorant of worldly affairs. The process was that men stood in long lines and when their turns came publicly announced their choices loudly so all could hear as clerks recorded each individual vote. Then they got into other lines for other posts in succession. The voting took all day, but the atmosphere was festive, with expensive liquor and treats provided by the candidates.

We do not have the date of Elizabeth and Robert's marriage. They seem to have cared deeply for each other, but one can easily see that the course of true love did not always run smooth for this couple, and that her father was much put off by the situation. James Lemon, like Robert Pearis, Sr., seems not to have been long-lived. We can tell his demise must have been rather sudden and caught him off guard, by the dates shown, unless war had something to do with it. (Though King's probate does not coincide with O'Dell's on next page.) The will abstract shows: *

LEMON, James
Will, 1 June 1757, proven 9 June 1757.
Wife Lucy to have one-third of the furniture and one dozen silver spoons. To son Thomas (oldest) a plantation. Youngest son William to have a lot in Winchester. Daughter Elizabeth Pearis to receive 100 pounds of currency. If Elizabeth returns to her husband, Robert Pearis, then 100 pounds currency to youngest daughter Mary.
Executors: Wife and son Thomas Lemon
Witnesses: Thomas Carroll, Robert Lemon, Isabel Lemon

Robert and Elizabeth did make up, and I suppose the money which would have supported her had she stayed single went to Mary. It seems James Lemon must have previously made provisions for his heirs through wedding settlements, etc., not mentioned in the will.

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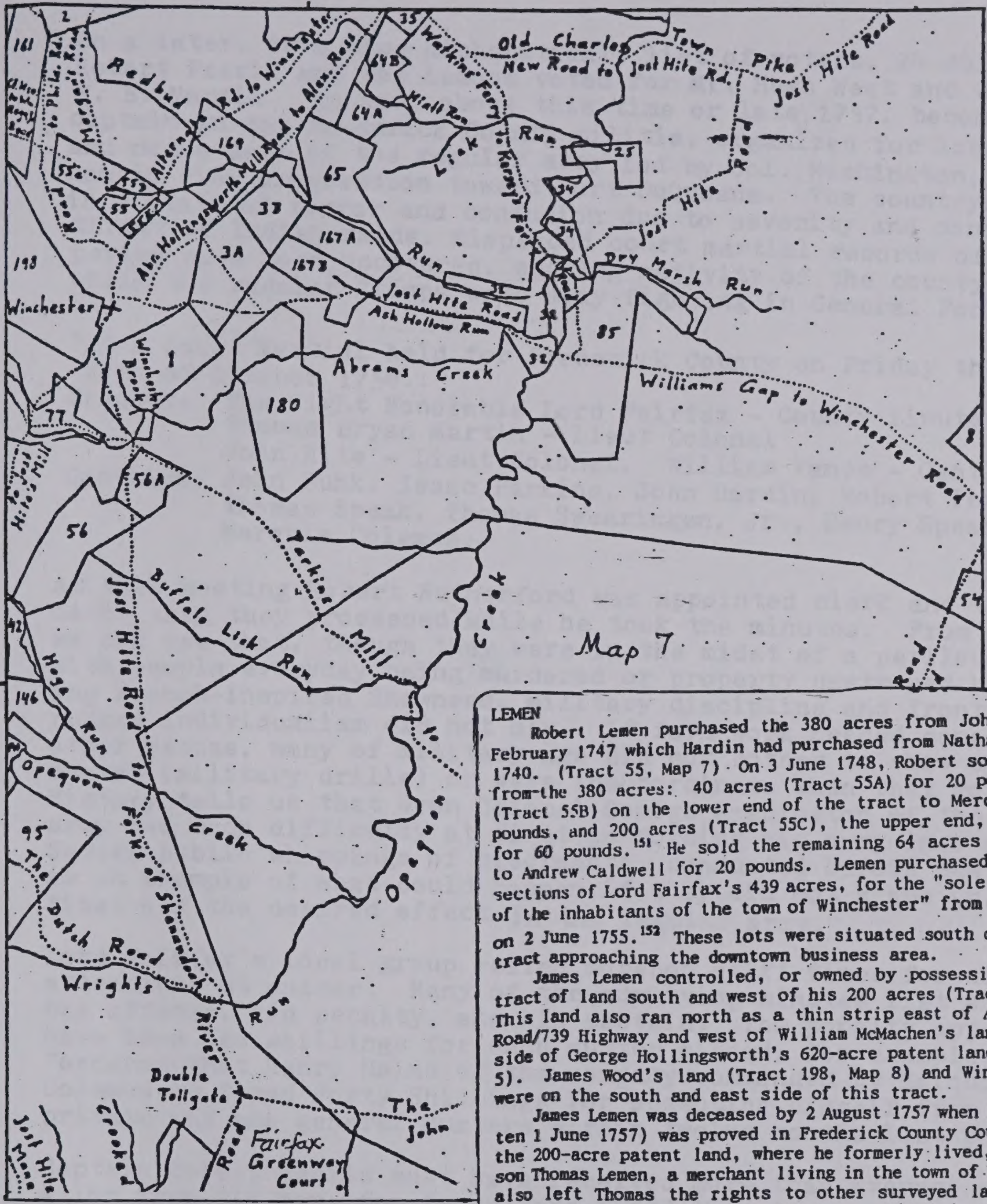
*Abstracts of Wills, Inventories & Administrations of Accounts of Frederick County, Virginia 1743-1800, J. Estelle Stewart King ~~(1982) GFC~~ page 20

James Lemen
55c →


Old Charles Town Pike
New Road to Jost Hite Rd.
Jost Hite Road
Redbud Run
Alex. Ross Rd. to Winchester
Watkins Ferry to Winchester
Alex. Hollingsworth Mill Road to Alex. Ross
Hiatt Run
Lick Run
Jost Hite Road
Dry Marsh Run
Ash Hollow Run
Winchester
Winchester Brook
Abrams Creek
Williams Gap to Winchester Road
Jost Hite's Mill
Tarkins Mill
Buffalo Lick Run
Jost Hite Road to Forks of Shenandoah
Hoge Run
Opequon Creek
Opequon Creek
Map 7
The Dutch Road
Wrights Run
River
Double Tollgate
The John
Fairfax Greenway Court
Crooked Road
Jost Hite Manor
161
2
35
64B
64A
169
65
55c
55A
55
55B
37
3A
167A
167B
25
34
198
180
1
77
56A
56
85
32
42
146
95
8
54

From- Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia
by Cecil O'Dell (1995)
The homestead of James Lemen, father-in-law of Robert Pearis is indicated in the plat map, top left :just north of Winchester (tract 55c + strip.)

LEMEN

Robert Lemen purchased the 380 acres from John Hardin on 24 February 1747 which Hardin had purchased from Nathaniel Thomas in 1740. (Tract 55, Map 7) On 3 June 1748, Robert sold three tracts from the 380 acres: 40 acres (Tract 55A) for 20 pounds, 80 acres (Tract 55B) on the lower end of the tract to Mercer Babb for 42 pounds, and 200 acres (Tract 55C), the upper end, to James Lemen for 60 pounds.[151] He sold the remaining 64 acres on 3 June 1755 to Andrew Caldwell for 20 pounds. Lemen purchased Lots 7 and 28, sections of Lord Fairfax's 439 acres, for the "sole use and benefit of the inhabitants of the town of Winchester" from Andrew Caldwell on 2 June 1755.[152] These lots were situated south of the 380-acre tract approaching the downtown business area.

James Lemen controlled, or owned by possession, a 529-acre tract of land south and west of his 200 acres (Tract 55C, Map 7). This land also ran north as a thin strip east of Apple Pie Ridge Road/739 Highway and west of William McMachen's land to the south side of George Hollingsworth's 620-acre patent land (Tract 2, Map 5). James Wood's land (Tract 198, Map 8) and Winchester Common were on the south and east side of this tract.

James Lemen was deceased by 2 August 1757 when his will (written 1 June 1757) was proved in Frederick County Court. He willed the 200-acre patent land, where he formerly lived, to his eldest son Thomas Lemen, a merchant living in the town of Winchester. He also left Thomas the rights to other surveyed land (529 acres) joining the 200 acres, in addition to Lot 3 in Winchester. He willed a one-half acre lot with improvements where he (James) lived, and a five-acre lot[153] to his youngest son William after "he becomes 21 years of age." He left 100 pounds to his eldest daughter Elizabeth Pearis with the stipulation that if Elizabeth returned to her husband Robert Pearis, the 100 pounds would be paid to his youngest daughter Mary Lemen. He appointed his wife Lucy and son Thomas as executors.[154]

Thomas Lemen of Pennsylvania received a Fairfax grant on 30 August 1762 for the 529-acre inherited land.[155] He and his wife Margaret mortgaged the lots, houses, the 200 acres and the 529 acres to John Glassford and Company (merchants in Glasgow, North Britain) on 9 April 1760 to cover a debt of 459 pounds, 2 shillings, 7 pence half-penny sterling currency of Great Britain owed to Glassford.[156] Thomas and Margaret Lemen of Pennsylvania sold the 529-acre tract to Thomas Lord Fairfax for 200 pounds on 22 October 1762.[157]

On a later, this time alphabetical, list of voters, 24 July 1758, Robert Pearis and the Lemons voted for Mr. Hugh West and Colonel F. B. Martin. He had, about this time or late 1757, become a captain in the Frederick County militia, organized for local defense and not a part of the regular army led by Col. Washington, even now in slow progression toward Fort DuQuesne. The countryside was in a state of terror and confusion due to severity and constant threat of Indian raids. Misplaced court martial records of that period have been uncovered, showing activity of the county militia while the regular troops were away fighting in General Forbes' army.

"At a Court Martial held for Frederick County on Friday the 27th of October 1758..
Present: The Right Honorable Lord Fairfax - County Lieutenant
Thomas Bryan Martin - Lieut Colonel
John Hite - Lieut Colonel, William Vance - Gentleman Major
Captains: John Funk, Isaac Parkins, John Hardin, Robert Pearis, Thomas Speak, Thomas Swearingen, Jr., Henry Spears, Marquis Colemus.

At this meeting Robert Rutherford was appointed clerk and took the oath, then they proceeded while he took the minutes. From them we can see that, though they were in the midst of a perilous war, with people everyday being murdered or property destroyed by marauding French-inspired Shawnees, military discipline and frontier rugged individualism did not mix. If farm work needed done, or any other excuse, many of military age did not bother to show up for muster (military drills) or were insubordinate when they got there. History tells us that even Colonel George Washington of the regular army had much difficulty at first in forcing his army into shape. Severe public whippings of miscreants, conducted before new recruits as an example of what could happen if they did not shape up, sometimes had the desired effect in the regular army.

Lord Fairfax's local group relied more on stiff fines for non-attendance at muster. Many of the surviving minutes list each man, his offense, his penalty, and his captain. The penalty appears to have been ten shillings for each muster missed, for example, "ordered that Henry Hains of the company commanded by Marquis Colemus be fined Forty Shillings for absenting himself from Three private and one general Musters wirhin twelve months last past."

Captain Robert Pearis must have received more than average cooperation from his men, for fewer were fined than in most companies. Sample entries were, "Ordered that Richard Sturman of Captain Robert Pearis's Company is fined three shillings for appearing at the last General muster without a Gun." and "Ordered that David Forbes of Capt. Robert Pearis's Company, on motion of the sd. Capt., be discharged of further duty at Muster."

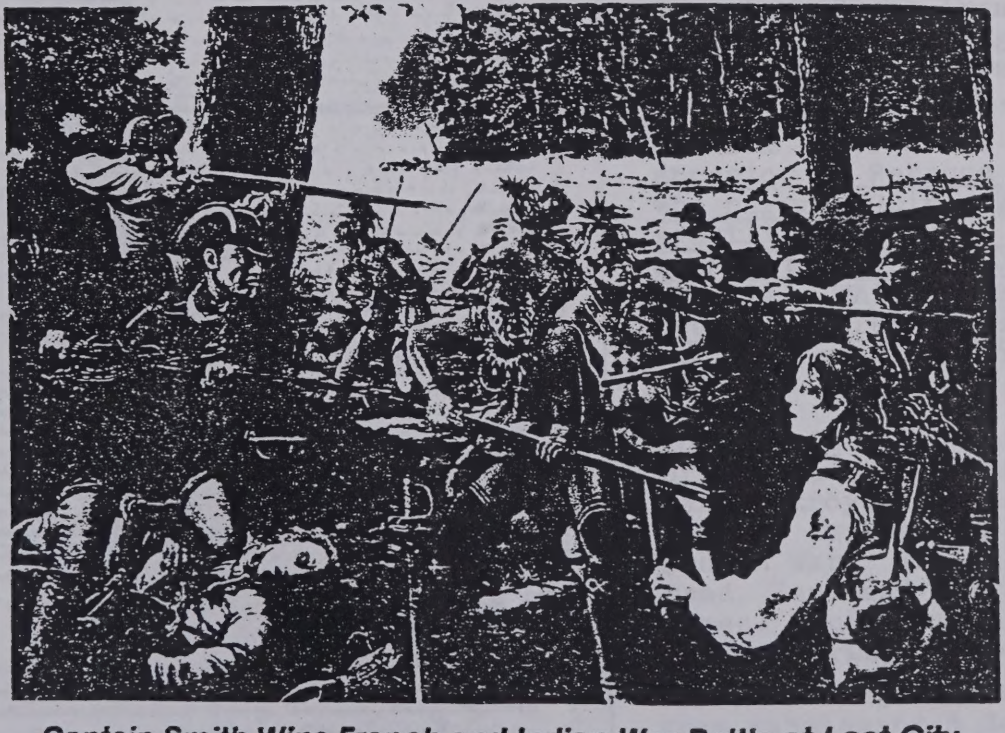
But all of this was a huge improvement over the minutes two years before, when Robert was not yet a captain. The minutes read. "The 11th April 1756. Present: The Right Honble the Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant. John Hite, Major. Captains: John Lindsey,

Richard Morgan, Edward Rodgers, Thomas Caton, Isaac Parkin, Samuel Odell, Jeremiah Smith, Paul Long.

"Proposals having been sent to the several Captains of the Militia signed by the Commanding Officer of the said Militia & dated 7th April 1756...and the said Captains, finding the Number of Men insufficient to go out against the Enemy..its Confident that the Men be Discharged being only Fifteen." It is unfathomable why Fairfax's eight captains would raise only fifteen men, for at that very time the Indian attacks were so brutal and frequent the whole populace was in terror, many fleeing permanently leaving their life-savings behind.

One of the captains, Jeremiah Smith, next to last on that list, vowed to do something on his own , and raised a 20-man militia, apparently from the Hoges Creek-Back Creek area, that very spring. Samuel Kercheval tells about this battle in his book, History of the Valley of Virginia (1833). He and his militia surprised a company of French officers with a number of Indians, a much greater force than they. Smith killed a French captain and found a valuable intelligence note in his pocket telling where to meet a party of 50 men who were to assist in blowing up Fort Frederick. Several lives were lost on both sides, but a great many frontier lives were saved by their brave encounter, as well as the fort.

It is supposed that Captain Jeremiah Smith is the balding man in the upper right of the picture, preparing to swing a tomahawk.



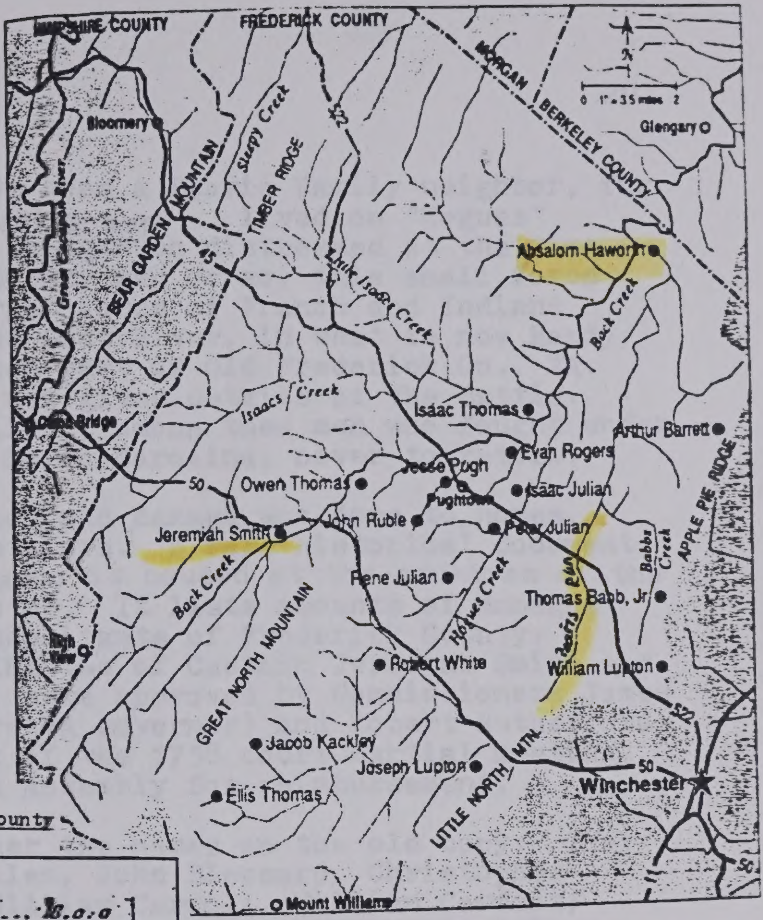
Captain Smith Wins French and Indian War Battle at Lost City

Photograph courtesy of West Virginia National Guard

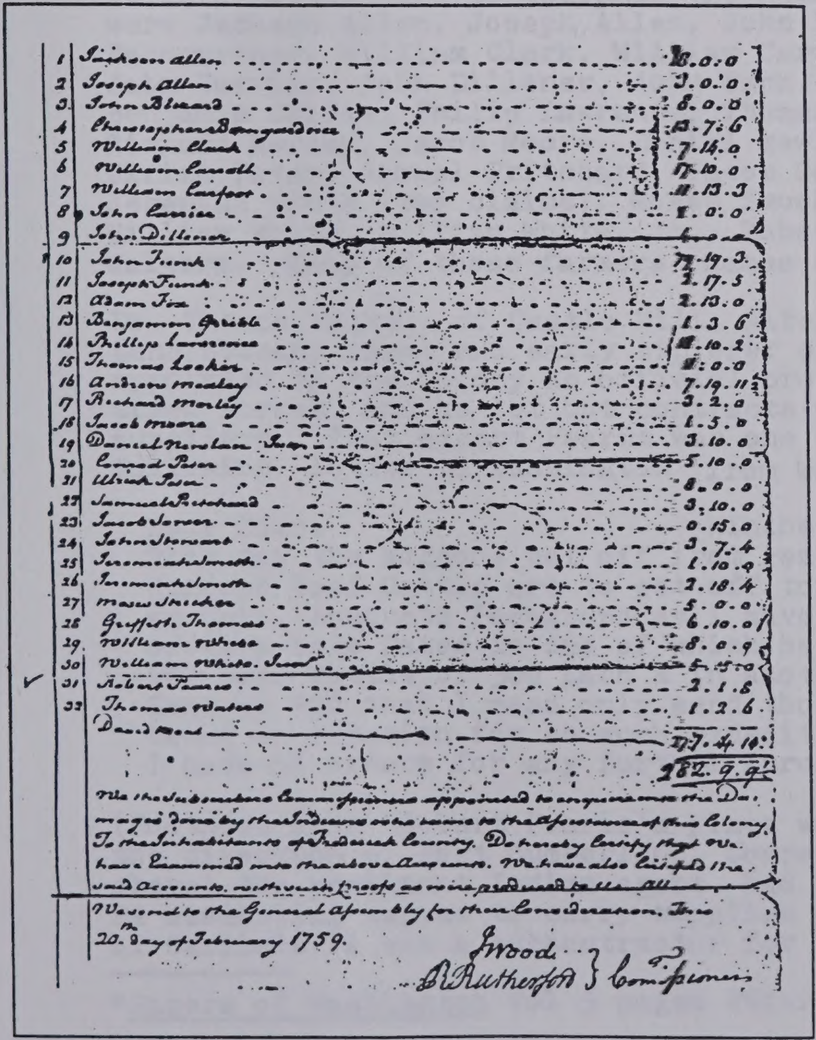
PEARIS FAMILY

This shows where Jeremiah Smith lived. His militia are thought to include John Ruble (killed), George and Peter Ruble, Azariah Pugh, James McCoy (killed), Daniel Pritchard, George Potts, William Harvey, Robert White, Jr., William Harry, and five Julians.

The Julians were of French Huguenot descent. A few Presbyterians, Lutherans & Reformed also lived in the area shown, but the great majority of the people there were Quakers--mostly of Welsh descent, but a few English.


HAMPSHIRE COUNTY
FREDERICK COUNTY
MORGAN
BERKELEY COUNTY
0 1"=3.5 miles 2
Glengary
Bloomery
Great Cacapon River
Sleepy Creek
TIMBER RIDGE
BEAR GARDEN MOUNTAIN
45
522
Little Isaacs Creek
Absalom Haworth
Back Creek
Isaacs Creek
Isaac Thomas
Arthur Barrett
Capon Bridge
Evan Rogers
Jesse Pugh
Isaac Julian
50
Owen Thomas
Pughtown
Jeremiah Smith
John Ruble
Peter Julian
APPLE PIE RIDGE
Babbs Creek
Rene Julian
Back Creek
Hollas Creek
Pearis Run
Thomas Babb, Jr
GREAT NORTH MOUNTAIN
High View
Robert White
William Lupton
Jacob Kackley
Joseph Lupton
LITTLE NORTH MTN.
Ellis Thomas
Winchester
Mount Williams

French & Indian War Claims in Old Frederick County



1	Jackson Allen	18.0.0
2	Joseph Allen	3.0.0
3	John [illegible]	8.0.0
4	Christopher Bumgardner	13.7.6
5	William Clark	7.14.0
6	William Carroll	17.10.0
7	William Carfoot	11.13.3
8	John [illegible]	1.0.0
9	John Dillener	[illegible]
10	John Frank	[illegible].19.3
11	Joseph Frank	2.17.5
12	Adam Fox	2.13.0
13	Benjamin Gribble	1.3.6
14	Phillip Lawrence	[illegible].10.2
15	Thomas Looker	[illegible].0.0
16	Andrew Medley	7.19.11
17	Richard Morley	3.2.0
18	Jacob Moore	1.5.0
19	Daniel Newlan Junr	3.10.0
20	Conrad Peser	5.10.0
21	Ulrich Peser	8.0.0
22	Samuel Pritchard	3.10.0
23	Jacob [illegible]	0.15.0
24	John Stewart	3.7.4
25	Jeremiah Smith	1.10.9
26	Jeremiah Smith	2.18.4
27	Mason Stricker	5.0.0
28	Griffith Thomas	6.10.0
29	William White	8.0.9
30	William White Junr	5.15.0
31	Robert Pearis	2.1.6
32	Thomas Waters	1.2.6
	David Wood	
		177.4.10
		282.9.9

We the Subscribers Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Damages done by the Indians who came to the Assistance of this Colony To the Inhabitants of Frederick County. Do hereby Certify that We have Examined into the above Accounts. We have also Certifyd the said Accounts with such proofs as were produced to us All

Referred to the General Assembly for their Consideration. This 20th day of February 1759.

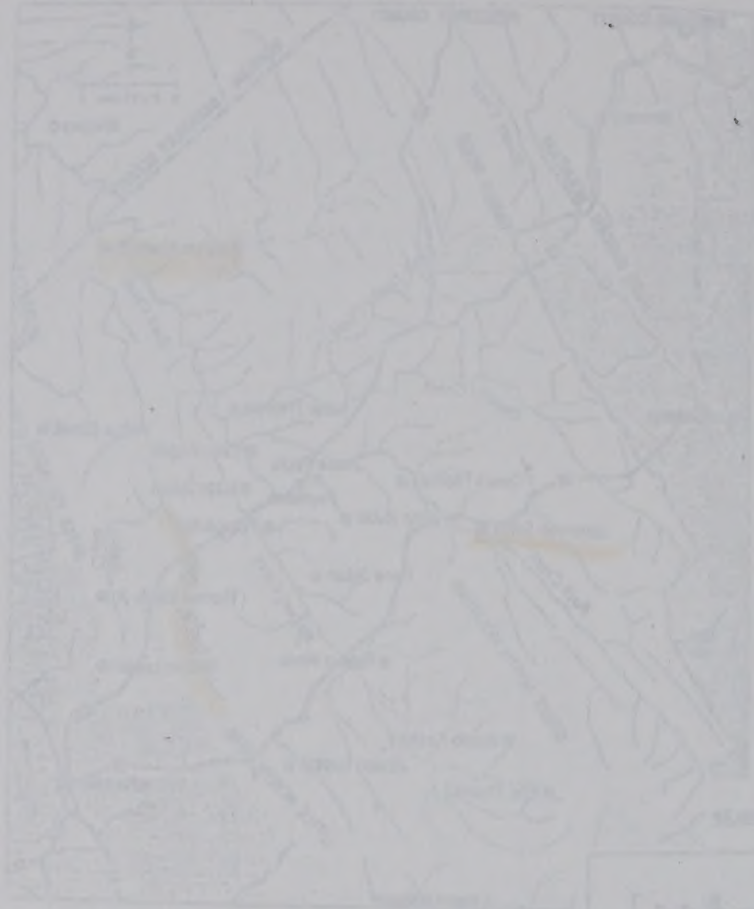
J Wood
R Rutherford } Comrs

Some Back Creek Area Quakers included Thomas, Pugh, Lupton, Babb, Rogers, and Haworth among them.

Absalom Haworth was an ancestor of Rebecca Haworth who married Quincy Monroe Averill, brother of my Great-grandmother, Sarah Jane (Averill) White in Kansas over a hundred years later, making a good Quaker out of him.

Lower Left - list of claims of citizens whose property was destroyed by enemy Indians during the French & Indian War. This is hard to read. See text for list of names, including Capt. Smith, Capt. Pearis, and others.

Illustrations this & prev. pg. from Settlement & Some First Families of Back Creek Valley by Wilmer L. Kerns PhD (1995)



SEARLES FAMILY

This shows where Jeremiah Smith lived. His militia are thought to include John Ruble (killed), George and Peter Ruble, Azariah Pugh, James Bruley (killed), Daniel Pritchard, George Potts, William Delvey, Robert White, Jr., William Parry, and five Julians.

The Julians were of French Huguenot descent. A few Presbyterians, Lutherans & Reformed also lived in the area shown, but the great majority of the people there were Quakers—mostly of Welsh descent, but a few English.

[illegible]

Some Back Creek area Quakers included Thomas, Pugh, Lupton, Beck, Rogers, and Hawortht among them.

Absalom Haworth was an ancestor of Belford Haworth who married Quincy Monroe Averill, brother of my great-grandmother, Sarah Jane (Averill) White in Kansas over a hundred years later, making a good Quaker out of him.

Upper left - list of claims of citizens whose property was destroyed by enemy Indians during the French & Indian War. This is hard to read. See text for list of names, including Pugh, Smith, Beck, Parker and others.

Illustrations this & prev. pg. from *Settlement & Some First Families of Back Creek Valley* by Wilmer L. Kerns PhD (1995)

Jeremiah Smith appears to have been a Pearis Family neighbor, for several of his men (see preceding map) lived on "Hogues" Run of Back Creek, this area being much distressed at the time. Though Jeremiah raised only twenty men or so, this small force was able to defeat a much larger force of French and Indians during a fierce encounter near Lost River, in what is now Hardy County, West Virginia, but then part of Old Frederick Co., VA. A roadside marker near there now gives details of the Battle. Five Hogues Creek Julian families, among them men who fought under Smith that day, soon fled to North Carolina, never to return.

During the war much destruction and damage was done to homes, barns, and cattle of early settlers. A rare historical document, (see photocopy on previous page) is housed at the archives of the Historical Society at Winchester. It lists amounts of damages done by Indians to several inhabitants of Frederick County. Some of these claims, including two of Captain Jeremiah Smith and one of Captain Robert Pearis, were approved by Commissioners James Wood Sr. (ancestor of a future VA governor) and Robert Rutherford, mentioned previously as clerk of the 1758 court martial meeting, and submitted to the Virginia Assembly for reimbursement.

It is a little hard to decipher the names on the old copy. They were Jackson Allen, Joseph Allen, John Blessard, Christopher Baumgardner, William Clark, William Carroll, William Carfoot, John Carrier, John Dillener, John Funk, Joseph Funk, Adam Fox, Benjamin Grible, Philip Lawrence, Thomas Looker, Andrew Mackay, Richard Morley, Jacob Moore, Daniel Newlan Jr., Conrad Peter, Ulrick Peter, Samuel Pritchard, Jacob Soneer, John Stewart, Jeremiah Smith (two claims), Moses Smucker, Griffith Thomas, William White, William White, Jr., Robert Pearis, and Thomas Walters. Many of these farmers' names sound German.

Dr. Thomas Walker, of Castle Hill, Albemarle County VA, Loyal Land Company agent and early explorer of Kentucky, had early been appointed by the Colony as official provisioner of food for the armed forces, and he let out contracts for beef to various suppliers. That Robert Pearis was one of them is implicit in the following letter to Washington from Walker:*

> Dear Colo: Winchester August the 14 1758
> This day the Waggons set off from Pearises and about five Hundred Beef Cattle are to set off tomorrow. I am surprised at Colo. Bouquets Paragraph as I have Letters from Mr Hoops of very Late Dates in one of which he writes that he has 600 Beef Cattle of 500 Each & in another that Yeiser has Sent up 400 that I need only send those gathered there not being an occasion for so much expedition as he had desired & I have no orders for any further Purchase as yet.....

(Footnote says "Robert Pearis's place was outside Winchester in the direction of Fort Cumberland. Conrad Weiser (spelled Yeiser above) the prominent Indian agent, had been active in Berks Co. PA assembling wagons to carry supplies to Raystown. Adam Hoops of Carlisle PA was a subcontractor for Forbes's forces.")

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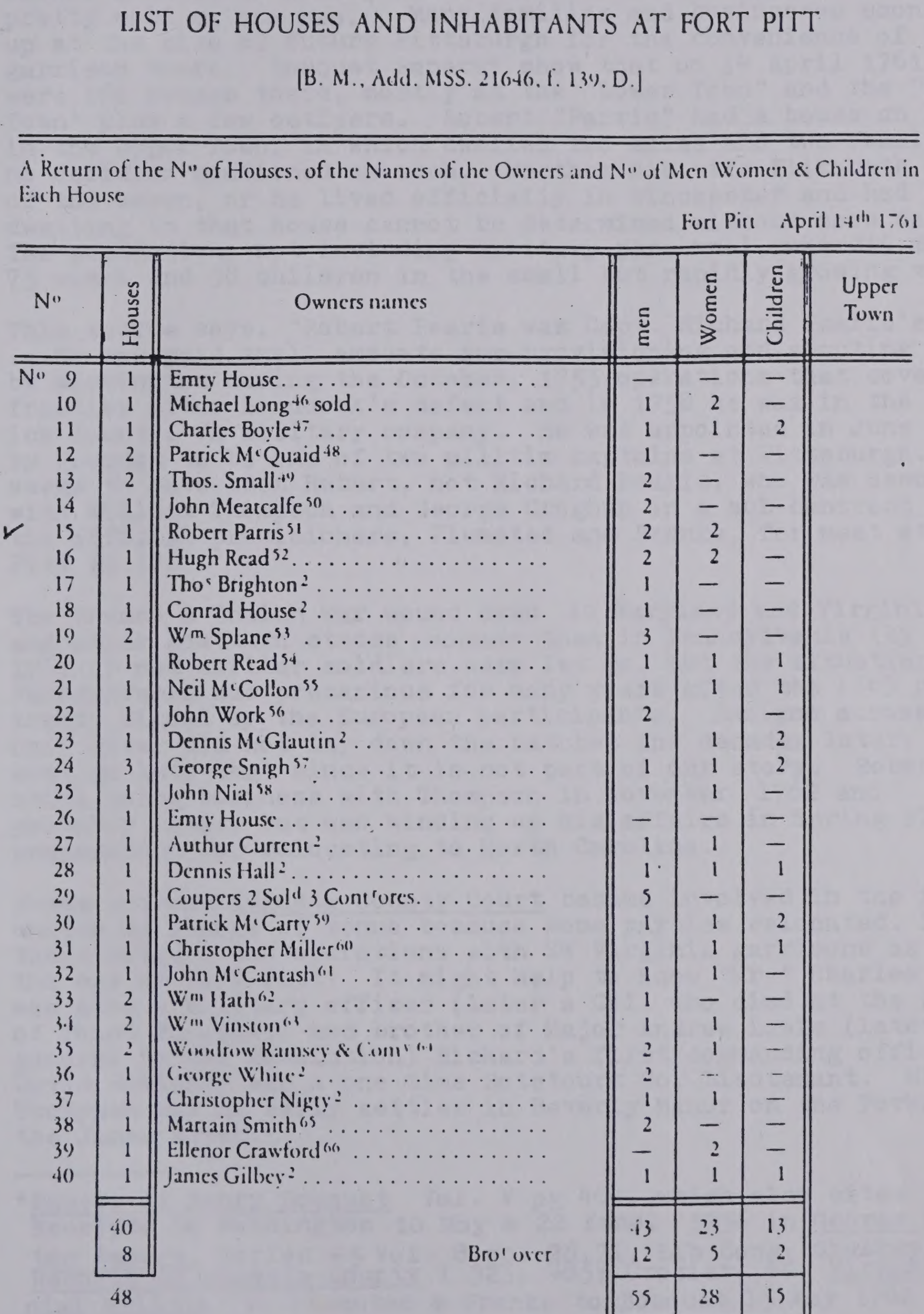
*Papers of Washington Vol 5 pages 291-2



LIST OF HOUSES AND INHABITANTS AT FORT PITT

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21646, f. 139, D.]

A Return of the N^{o} of Houses, of the Names of the Owners and N^{o} of Men Women & Children in Each House

Fort Pitt April 14th 1761

N^{o}	Houses	Owners names	men	Women	Children	Upper Town
N^{o} 9	1	Emty House..................	—	—	—	
10	1	Michael Long[46] sold..................	1	2	—	
11	1	Charles Boyle[47]	1	1	2	
12	2	Patrick M^{c}Quaid[48]..................	1	—	—	
13	2	Thos. Small[49]	2	—	—	
14	1	John Meatcalfe[50]	2	—	—	
✓ 15	1	Robert Parris[51]	2	2	—	
16	1	Hugh Read[52]..................	2	2	—	
17	1	Tho^{s} Brighton[2]	1	—	—	
18	1	Conrad House[2]	1	—	—	
19	2	W^{m} Splane[53]	3	—	—	
20	1	Robert Read[54]	1	1	1	
21	1	Neil M^{c}Collon[55]	1	1	1	
22	1	John Work[56]..................	2		—	
23	1	Dennis M^{c}Glautin[2]	1	1	2	
24	3	George Snigh[57]	1	1	2	
25	1	John Nial[58]	1	1	—	
26	1	Emty House..................	—	—	—	
27	1	Authur Current[2]	1	1	—	
28	1	Dennis Hall[2]..................	1	1	1	
29	1	Coupers 2 Sol^{d} 3 Cont^{r}ores..........	5	—	—	
30	1	Patrick M^{c}Carty[59]	1	1	2	
31	1	Christopher Miller[60]	1	1	1	
32	1	John M^{c}Cantash[61]	1	1	—	
33	2	W^{m} Hath[62]..................	1	—	—	
34	2	W^{m} Vinston[63]..................	1	1	—	
35	2	Woodrow Ramsey & Com^{y}[64]	2	1	—	
36	1	George White[2]	2	—	—	
37	1	Christopher Nigty[2]	1	1	—	
38	1	Martain Smith[65]	2	—	—	
39	1	Ellenor Crawford[66]	—	2	—	
40	1	James Gilbey[2]	1	1	1	
	40		43	23	13	
	8	Bro^{t} over	12	5	2	
	48		55	28	15	

From : Papers of Henry Bouquet V:409

Richard would have been in a position to have given his brother's career a boost if Robert had needed it, but it appears he did pretty well on his own. Many families and businesses soon sprang up at the site of future Pittsburgh for the convenience of the garrison there. Bouquet Papers* show that on 14 April 1761 there were 160 houses there, mostly at the "Lower Town" and the "Upper Town" plus a few outlyers. Robert "Parris" had a house on Lot 15 in the Upper Town, in which dwelled two males and two females, no children mentioned as such. Whether his wife Elizabeth was one of the women, or he lived officially in Winchester and had helpers dwelling in that house cannot be determined without more data. The population, not including military personnel, was 219 men, 75 women and 38 children in the small but rapidly growing village.

This source says, "Robert Pearis was Capt. Richard Pearis's brother ...He was paid small amounts for provisioning and scouting work by Washington during the October, 1755 operations that covered the frontier after Braddock's defeat and in 1758 he was in the Frederick County, VA military company. He was appointed in June 1761 by Bouquet to be one of two militia captains at Pittsburgh. It seems to have been Robert, not Richard Pearis, who was associated with William Thompson and George Croghan in a sub-contract from the official provisioners, Plumsted and Franks, for meat at Fort Pitt in 1762."

The French & Indian War wound down in Maryland and Virginia and other southern states sooner than in Pennsylvania (by 1762 if not earlier soldiers were let go) but the situation in Pennsylvania was precarious for many years after the 1763 peace treaty signed by the European participants. Indians across the Ohio River did not lay down the hatchet for decades later, but we wont go into that since it is not part of our story. Robert was still doing business with Thompson in November 1762 and probably later, but was winding up his affairs in Spring 1764 in preparation for relocating to North Carolina.

Seems strange Augusta County Court became involved in the following unless by change of venue because some parties relocated. Perhaps their company had operations with SW Virginia garrisons as well as the one at Fort Pitt? It might help to know "Mr." Charles Lewis was also a military officer (later a Col. who died at the Battle of Point Pleasant) and brother of Major Andrew Lewis (later a general in the Revolution) Richard's first commanding officer. David Robinson was a one time Botetourt Co. Lieutenant. William Thompson was an early settler in Beverly Manor on the Forks of the James River.

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*Papers of Henry Bouquet Vol. V pg 404, which also cites Pearis's Receipts to Washington 10 May & 22 June, 1756 in George Washington Papers, Series - 5 Vol. 8 pp. 26,31, Lib Cong; Chalkey, ed. Records of Augusta County I 325, 485; Crozier, ed, Virginia Colonial Militia 72; Plumsted & Franks to Bouquet 15 May 1762 B.M.; Add MSS 216-48 f. 156.

Augusta Court Order:

March 1764 (B)
Lewis & Robinson vs. Pearis & Co. - Capt. Robert Pearis & Co. to Mr. David Robinson & Co., debtor.
9 November 1762.
to 15,113 beef @ 28/ per hundred. P. C. £211.11.7.
Contra: same date, by George Elder's* pay as manager at slaughter house, six days @ 5/; by William Bills, a butcher, six days @ 3/9 a day; by William Marshel, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by Stephen Allinger, assistant butcher, @ 1/3 per day; by a corporal and four privates @ /6 per day for six days; by cash at Hoit's (Hite's?); by cash at Fort Pitt; by cash paid John Fleming's expenses; by cash advanced at Staunton.
Captain William Thompson (is to?) pay the bearer hereof, Mr. Charles Lewis, the sum of 138 pounds Pennsylvania money, which we stand indebted to him, and place the same to the account of your humble servant.
(Signed) Robert Pearis. Teste: (witness) John Stewart,

It appears that after credit was given for cash payments at "Hoits" (at Winchester?), at Staunton in the Valley, to John Fleming, and more cash at Fort Pitt including wages. Robert agreed to pay a net of 138 pounds remainder and proceeded to do so. (This is an interesting example of the cost of living in the 1760's, and what they ate. Though pork became increasingly popular on the Frontier, the English then and now have always loved their beef. And how would you like to pay28 shillings per hundred pounds for beef TODAY? We would all become great beefeaters.)

This lawsuit had commenced in November 1762, after the disbanding of the army on the ending of the War; but wars cost money and leave the economy in recessions. The French & Indian War was typical in that respect.

And in America, until there was no longer any new territory to be had, the ends of wars usually coincided with a surge in migration, Robert, by no means a poor man, had the money to pay the debt and paid it, though evidently it took this lawsuit to resolve just how much he actually owed. Still, like others, he was looking for greener pastures.

Robert had already sold most of his considerable real estate in Frederick County Virginia to his brother Richard by March 1764, and he and his wife Elizabeth were now citizens of the new trading town of Salisbury, Rowan County, North Carolina. They expected business would be more profitable in the "Province of North Carolina."

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*Bouquet Papers V:404 says at one point during early 1760's George Elder was employed as forage master at the post of Stony Creek and worked for Pearis & Co. at Fort Pitt in Nov. 1762. He was an early settler of what became Hopewell Twp., Huntington Co. PA. He died Mar. 1800 in Bedford Co. PA

FREDERICK COUNTY DEED BOOK ENTRIES - Regarding Robert Pearis

Bk 9, pg. 95 - 25 Oct 176-
WHEREAS Robert Lemen and Isabella his wife by their Deeds of L and R the 2nd & 3rd Sept. 1762.. Sold unto William Heath..a certain Tract of Land in County of Frederick containing one Hundred and Sixteen Acres..Isabella Lemen now releases Right of Dower to same../s/ Jas. Keith
2 Dec 1763 - Elizabeth Lemen relinquished her Right of Dower to said land.
Recorded: 7 Feb. 1764 Wit: Rich. Pearis, David Shepherd

Bk 9, pg. 106 - 2 Feb 1764
KNOW ALL MEN by these presents that I Robert Pearis of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina for Divers Good Causes and Considerations..appoint Richard Pearis of Frederick County in Colony of Virginia my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name..
Wit: Wm. Fowler, Robt. Wm. Kendrick
Recorded: 6 March 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 1 - 3 Feb 1764
(Lease) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of Five Shillings..four Sundry Tracts of Land situate lying and being in Frederick County..beginning at the Tract of Land sold George Pearis by Wn. Hog and said George Pearis to said Robert ..Containing 200 Acres., another of the said tracts containing 325 Acres for which said Robert Obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck November 9th 1752...another of said Tracts containing 229 Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck Nov. 9th 1752..the other Tract of Land containing four Hundred and forty one Acres for which said Robert obtained a Deed from the Proprietor of Northern Neck the 12th April 1753..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said term..
Wit: William Fowler, George Neilly, Robt. McKendrick
Recorded: 4 Sept. 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 2 - 4 Feb 1764
(Release) Between Robert Pearis and Elizabeth his wife of Rowan County in Province of North Carolina (to) Richard Pearis of Colony of Virginia..consideration of One Thousand Pounds.. Four Tracts of Land (same as above)..
Wit: same as above
Recorded: 4 Sept 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10. pg. 54 - 18 Oct 1764
(Lease) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsburry (sic) Town Rowan County in Province of North carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker in the Town of Winchester County of Frederick..consideration of five Shillings..a Certain lot of Land Situate lying and being in Town of Winchester known by the No. 7..being 19,740 square feet..part of a Tract of Land Granted to James Wood dec'd by Deed from the Proprietors Office and by him devised in his last will and Testament to Mary Wood who sold and Conveyed said Lott of Land to said Robert Pearis by Deed the 1st March (illegible Roman numerals)..Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn at last day of said Term..
Wit: Adam Haymaker, 1 wit. signed in German, Archd. Wager
Redorded: 4 Dec. 1764 Robert Pearis

Bk 10, pg. 55 - 19 Oct 1764
(Release) Between Richard Pearis Gent. of Frederick County Attorney in Fact for Robert Pearis late of said County but now of Salsbury Town Rowan County and Province of North Carolina (to) Christopher Aldred, Baker of Town of Winchester..consideration of Thirty Pounds.. Lot No. 7 in Town of Winchester (same as above)..
Wit: same as above Robert Pearis
Recorded: 4 Dec. 1764.

As shown above, at time of removal, our Robert Pearis owned 1195 acres of rich land, and he bought all of it from Lord Fairfax except the 200-acre inheritance. His father had bought that and other land from Hite or indirectly from Ross. But Robert and Richard, astute businessmen, took no chances. Begging the reader's indulgence, here is a chance to tell a bit of interesting history.

The Fairfax Coat of Arms
Made by the Zane Iron Works at Marlboro near Winchester, Virginia, before the Revolution

FAIRFAX STONE: Junction of Grant, Preston and Tucker Counties, 2 miles off US 219, 4 miles north of Thomas, Tucker County. The stone is one of the oldest markers in the United States. In 1681 Charles II of England granted Lord Hapton 6 million acres in this area. The grant was inherited by Lord Fairfax in 1722. Although Fairfax Stone was intended to delineate the westernmost boundary of the land grant, it is misplaced. In 1746 the original stone was set 1 mile south of its present location. Five stones have been placed in the area, the last one in 1957. The spot marks the boundary between Maryland and West Virginia and is a state park.

As early as King William's War (1689-1697) it had become apparent to Virginia Colony that western defenses were becoming increasingly urgent due to expansion of French and Indian alliances in the Ohio Valley. Something must be done to protect the populace, then seated east of the mountains and primarily on the tidewater, from the impending threat. Settlement of armed men was the purpose of a 1701 act passed by the House of Burgesses for the better strengthening of the frontier. Though fully aware of an old royal proprietary grant (inherited in 1719 by Lord William Fairfax) that land was being settled sparsely, if at all, in huge tracts meted out by its agents chiefly for speculative purposes, with the result that it could not be defended by actual inhabitants and could even be infiltrated by the enemy to attack the colony.

A controversy rested on various interpretations of the early Northern Neck charters. The first charter of 1649 had defined the proprietary as "bounded by, and within the heads of Tappahannocke als Rappahanocke and Quincough or Patawomecke Rivers.." No one, however, knew where either river originated. The entire Shenandoah Valley was at stake. Fairfax's agent insisted that the Potomac originated in a source deep inside the Appalachian mountains and that the south branch of the Rappahannock was the main channel of that river. The colony claimed that the Potomac headed on the Blue Ridge at its confluence with the Shenandoah, that the Potomac's north branch was a distinct river called the Cohongarooton; and the Rappahannock's north branch was that river's main channel. If the

colony could substantiate its claim, the proprietary would be a narrow band of land reaching no farther west than the Blue Ridge. If the proprietary prevailed, not only would it be much wider, but it would also include an immense triangle of Appalachian land including the whole lower (northern) valley.

Alexander Spotswood, Lt. Governor 1710-1722, took the first steps to encourage dense settlement west of the Blue Ridge. After a well-known trek with the "Knights of the Golden Horse Shoe," announcing possession of the transmontane area with many toasts of various liquors and firings of a cannon, followed later by the formations of two new counties (one of which, Spotsylvania, included the later Frederick) movement there was encouraged by an act of deferment of payment for land, plus remittance of quit-rents (taxes) for seven years.

It was his successor, Sir William Gooch, however, who implemented these changes by making the area attractive to settlers. most of whom he realized would be non-Anglicans, by reassuring them that "no interruption shall be given to any minister..as long as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration." In 1730 he began issuing large grants to recipients such as Jost Hite/Robert McKay, Alexander Ross/Bryan Morgan, et al, who would enter the valley and settle at least one family on each 1000 acres within two years. These grantees could sell the land at bargained-for amounts, but the settlers must cultivate and improve three acres out of every fifty within three years before a patent could ensue. Gooch realized the area would be more thickly populated if settlers took up only the amount they could cultivate quickly to meet the requirements. Both Hite and Ross arrived about 1732 and were very proficient in their endeavors. Ross's people catered to a Hopewell Quaker congregation but included others, while in Hite's settlement Germans, many of whom could not speak English, and Scotch-Irish predominated.

Fairfax's proprietary grant had up to now been badly mismanaged, especially by his relative, Robert "King" Carter, who had usurped much of the land for the benefit of himself, son-in-law Mann Page, and various others. Carter died that year and upon inspecting the records and hearing of the Colonial grants, Fairfax decided to set sail for America, where he designed to straighten the affairs out himself and run his property like a feudal manor. First, however, he secured an order from the English Privy Council in November 1733 instructing Governor Gooch to adopt a moratorium and cooperate in solving the boundary dispute.

While a commission surveyed the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, Fairfax traveled across the Blue Ridge to the valley and hammered out his own land policy. The atmosphere must have been tense at Jost Hite's house on 24 April 1736 when he met with many settlers who now realized Hite could no longer deliver on his promise of land patents. Fairfax assured his listeners that he was desirous of having his land settled, and that the consequences of a victory by him would be only a change in landlords. Finally, on 11 April 1745 the Privy Council confirmed the Proprietary's definition of land boundaries, not the Colony's, but deemed that grants already issued by the colony would have to be recognized. Fairfax had already made that concession. The litigation in the courts went on and on until made moot by the Revolution, but the 1745 decision remained essentially in effect.

North Carolina Records, Robert Pearis

Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions Rowan County, North Carolina 1762-1774 (Vol II) Jo White Linn (1970) (& III) Excerpts-njhz 5/1998

Book page-vol.#-pg.#-date SPELLINGS ORIGINAL

24- II:519 13 Apr 1764. Lease & release from Francis Quine to Robert Paris for ¼ lot in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 prvd by Wm Cabeen (5:465). Same from Francis Quine to Robert Pearis for lots #27, 28 in Salisbury 14-15 Mar 1764 (5:466).

28- II:536 14 July 1764. On motion of Mr. Dunn order that Robert Pearis have a license to keep an ordinary at Shallow Ford on Yadkin River. Sec. John Dunn & Francis Lock. Granted.

30- II:541 9 Oct 1764. On motion William Harrison Esqr Orderd that Henry Baker, in right of his wife have Letters of Adms. of all & Singlur the goods & Chattles rights & Credits of Barnaby Bower Deced Securities. Robert Pearis & Wm Nassery in the sum of ₤ Pro. money & Quallified according to Law &c. Court adj. to tomorrow.

30- II:543 11 Oct 1764. Orderd that Wm Nassery have a Licence to keep an ordinary at his Now Dwelling House & Complying with an Act of Assembly in Such Case & Provided & security Andrew Allison, George Magoune, Richd Pearis.

31- II:547 12 Oct 1764. Deed from Carter & Forster to Robert Pearis for lots #21,22,29,30 in N Sq of Salisbury (5:562).

35- II:562 9 Jan 1765. Deed from Foster & Carter to Robert Pearis for lots #5, 6, 13, 14 in Salisbury 6 Jan 1765 (6:40), also lots #21, 22 on 6 Mar 1765 (6:41), and lots #7, 15, in Sq. 6 Jan 1765 (6:42).

36- II:564 9 Jan 1765. Over Seers of the Roads appointed for 1765: (long list includes) Moses Pearis from Grants Creek to South Yadkin at James Andrews.

53- II:637 10 July 1766. Lease & Release from Robert Pearus & wf to Wm. Nealey for lot #6 in S. Sq of Salisbury 10 July 1766 (6:274). ✓

53- II:638 11 July 1766. (Jury trial--jury includes) David Black, Jas Erwin, Wm Morgan, Martin Armstrong, Moses Pearus, et al

54- II:639 11 July 1766. Pearus Ass of Pearus vs Andrew Pitts (Tay)
II:642 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Joshua Husband, Evidence: Will Steel, Wm McConnell, John Dunn. Deft. did not assume.
II:643 12 July 1766. Robert Pearin vs Peter Johnston. Same jury. ₤8.12.2.

56-II:649 15 Oct 1766. Robert Pearis vs Jacob Arrant on an Ex. Peter Phagley the Security. Surrenders the Principall in Custody & disch.

57- II:653 16 July 1766. Robert Pearis vs Saml Ridgway. same jury.

64- II:686 14 April 1767. Robert Peares & wife Elizabeth to John Boone Jr. for ½ lot in N. Sq. formerly granted by Francis Quinn to Parris.

67- II:700 18 April 1767. John Mitchell Ass vs Robert Peares
II:701 18 April 1767. Robert Pearis sits on essentially the same jury on another case (Midnight vs McClover?)

69- II:711 15 July 1767. Moses Peares Appointed Over Sear of the Road in Roome of Thomas Carson.
II:714 16 July 1767. Robt Tellson vs Robt Peares (July trial) ₤14.13.8 & Costs.

71- II:718 17 July 1767. Thomas Cook charged in Custody as the Suites of Robert Pearin, Wm Nassey & Others Petition the Court to be Admited To the Benefit of Act of Assembly he having made a Skedual of all his Personal Estate which Petition was Granted & he the sd Thomas Cook Took the Oath by Law , (etc)

80- III:24 21 Apr 1768. The King vs John Bone & wife Petty Larceny. Evidence for King: Rob. Pearis, Eliz. Pearis, Hem. Horah; for plaintiff: Cath Foley, Fred Long, Hen Page, John L. Beard, John Holand.

82- III:36 21 July 1768. John Mitchell vs Robert Pearis, Trespass. Evidences: Hen Horah, Dan Little, Ann Bashford. Jury.

83- III:43 22 July 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Jacob Guyer for lot #99 in E. Sq. Salisbury 14 June 1768.

84- III:50 18 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to Henry Sloan for lots #67, 68, 75, 76 in N Square of Salisbury 21 July 1768 prvd by Wm Martin (7:24).

85- III:52 21? Oct 1768. Robert Pearis vs Peter Johnson. Evidence: Francis Lock.

86- III:59 22 Oct 1768. Deed from Robert Pearis to George Pearis for ¼ lot #5 in N Sq., lots 5,13,6,14,7,15 and personalty 20 Apr 1767 prvd by Wm Temple Cole (7:19).

87- III:67.15 Jan 1769. Alexander Jarvis vs Robert Peariss Case #2 (july, same as first jury)

90- III:84 17 Jan 1769. Frances Palmer vs George Peares Case #6. Evidenc e: Moses Reffel, James Baxter, Will McConnell Jr&Sr.Jury.

94- III:105 13 May 1769. Robert Pearis & Wm McConnell vs Joseph Robinso
Evidence: Wm Temple Coles. Jury
III:108 13 May 1769. Deed from Wm Neely to Hugh Magoune Minor for lot #7 in W Sq Salisbury 22 Apr 1769., prvd by Wm Temple Cole Esq (7:110). Deed from George Peares to Alexr Martin Esq. for ½ lot #7 in S Sq 14 Sept 1768 p.rvd by Geo Magoune (7:111). Another13 Sept 1768 for lots #21, 22 (7:110). ✓

96- III:124 9 Aug 1769. cases incl. Robert Peares vs Wm. Taylor

99- III:136 12 Aug 1769. Deed from George Pearis & Robert Pearis to Daniel Little & John Lewis Beard for lots #14,15 in S Sq of Salisbury & ½ of lot #7 Apr 3, 1769 prvd by George Felton (7:153). Power of attorney from George Pearis to Robert Pearis 16 Sept 1768. (7:152).

101- III:145 15 Nov 1769. Deed from Hugh Foster to Robert Pearis for 4 lots in N sq of Salisbury, #67, 68, 75, 76. 25 Apr 1768 (7:168)

121- III:261 (1770?) Stock marks registered for 10 people including Moses Pearis.

Though these Rowan County NC records are short on detail, it is obvious that Robert Pearis was one of the movers and shakers of the trading town of Salisbury. He speculated in and/or rented out commercial property+kept an Inn, likely with hired help or slaves. Nealy entries were not extracted but William was undoubtedly his sister Christian's relative. Probably this George Pearis was a son? No obvious connection with Moses Pearis, though it cannot be ruled out yet.

In February 1764 Robert Pearis of Salisbury, North Carolina, sold 1195 acres of land to his brother Richard for a thousand pounds. Except for 200 acres inherited from his parents, he had bought the rest from Lord Fairfax. In October Richard, acting on his behalf, sold the 7-acre lot in Winchester to Christopher Aldred, a "baker." Except for quaint court records shown on the preceding page, North Carolina records have not been thoroughly searched for information about Robert or his family which, as you can see, leave much to be desired. Discrepancies appear immediately when one tries to recap the transfers of lot numbers. (Though not so stated, the bracketed numbers following each transaction are probably deed book number and page. If found, deed books might straighten some of this out, and perhaps mention relationships.)

Anyone wishing to search further should keep in mind that most of the next generation seems to have simplified the spelling to "Paris." For instance, his nephew Robert Paris (George's son) and niece Sarah (Richard's daughter) did so. She named her youngest son Paris Teter. Both of those mentioned were Kentucky pioneers, and it is entirely possible some of Robert and Elizabeth's children went there, too. Many from their area did. The 1795 Kentucky census index shows many Parises and Parrishs, including four Roberts. One Robert Paris migrated to Madison County at the same time as Sarah (Pearis) Teter, in the record-breaking cold winter of 1779/80. Could that have been Robert's son rather than George's?

CHAPTER FIVE - RICHARD PEARIS, CHEROKEE TRADER

Most of this book is about our ancestor, Richard Pearis, second son, third child of George Sr. and Sarah Pearis, born ca. 1725 in Northern Ireland, whose family came to America when he was about ten years old. Before long they were living on the frontier in the Opequon River settlement of Virginia's northern neck, northwest of what is today Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia.

Records found so far do not tell us when the father first purchased land there, but it was certainly before 1743, when that county's deed books commence. Some of it was bought from Peter Helton, some from Richard Morgan, and some of it - part of the land on Pearis Run - must have been purchased from one of the original Virginia Colony proprietors Hite or Ross before 1736 or Lord Fairfax after April of that year,* and would in that case be reflected in manor rolls rather than deed books. Proof of this is that streams were customarily named for the first owners of sizeable tracts thereon. This shows that they were already neighbors of the elderly gentleman, William Hoge, Sr., before George purchased adjoining acres from the heir, William Hoge Jr. on 12 Nov. 1750. (Otherwise there would be a discrepancy in George's will of 19 Nov 1749, predating the purchase, which willed land purchased from Hoge to the youngest son, Robert Pearis, with the proviso that the mother, Sarah, live with him.) The earliest record there of Richard himself is his signature as one of four witnesses to a land transfer between Grub family menbers on 11 Feb 1747/8, at which time he would have been a young married man of about 23, with a family including two daughters.

Hopefully this review is not too tedious, for we need to determine as accurately as possible when young Richard started living there, and when he started wandering down the long trail to start trading with the friendly Cherokees who, in 1743 before encroachment of the white race, would have been hunting as far north as Pearis Mountain on the Forks of the Roanoke. By the way, did HE tell his older brother George of the place? Could that be how it got its name?

As a young Scotch-Irishman with a taste for adventure, Richard set out early to make his fortune. He was obviously from a very good background, prosperous but not wealthy enough to speculate in land at first, or any such expensive venture, though his father had provided his sons with a better education than most people on the frontier then received. There was a lot of money to be made in the fur-trading business, if one could only get in on the ground floor, and he was young and ambitious. On that all parties agree--but because he had a penchant for making up his own mind and acting accordingly, this ancestor of ours is one of the more controversial figures in the early history of our country. Though he won high praise in high circles, his detractors were even more voluble because he did not play by their rules. Unfortunately, they are better recorded in history!

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* See last paragraph, page 35

To engage in this chosen field it was necessary to have a source of Indian goods where one could then market furs and leather once they were acquired. There may have been others, but the most obvious seems to have been Fort Cumberland, constructed and run by Christopher Gist, the Ohio Company's explorer and Indian representative. That company, in which even the Washingtons were stockholders, had English markets for its products and received in return manufactured goods much desired by Indians, such as blankets, guns, cheap clothing, fabric, and metal pots. Richard was later heavily indebted to Gist, so he formed an uneasy partnership with the son Nathaniel Gist, but in the beginning he formed many alliances, including wealthy Jacob Hite. Whether or not he was in someone else's employ during his teens and early twenties, Richard was on the Forks of the Holston in 1751 as a partner of Thomas Price* trading with the Cherokees and speaking their language fluently, with much influence. And if he had not done so many years before, he fell in love with a lovely Indian maiden.

As you read this, please be on your guard against your author's wishful thinking! Maybe my yen to have Cherokee ancestry is affecting my objectivity, for it is also possible that there was a teenaged bride who died early, leaving behind two tiny daughters, Sarah and Margaret. Sarah, the oldest, born about 1744/5, was our ancestress. That's pretty early. Was she half Cherokee? We don't know for sure.

Ft. fict part in letter

And now we need to describe the Cherokees as a people, for there is much misconception. All tribes were not alike, and these were among the very must civilized. As one book says,

> "even before the coming of the white man they were to begin with an agricultural people** growing much corn, squash, and many vegetables. They had known better homes, food, and clothing than many of their contemporaries in Europe in certain areas. Indeed, they were better fed than some of the hill people who now occupy some of their old homes. Before 1750 they had suffered much from the white man, but along with smallpox, rum, and other offerings of white civilization, they had adopted many of its ways. The Cherokee, Creek, and Chickasaw were rapidly becoming nations of farmers with many fine horses and cattle. Some tribesmen now built their homes of logs as did the white man, used his tools and weapons and often wore his clothing. Some top leaders could usually understand if not speak English, and there were many half-breeds."

> As to their women, "Many of the Indian women dressed in the manner of white women, but no sunbonnets or housecaps, and usually bare feet or moccasins (in their own country). Wives and mistresses of the traders would have been resplendent in silks and satins of the latest fashion; beautiful, for according to most who saw them, all of the Cherokee women had features formed with perfect symmetry

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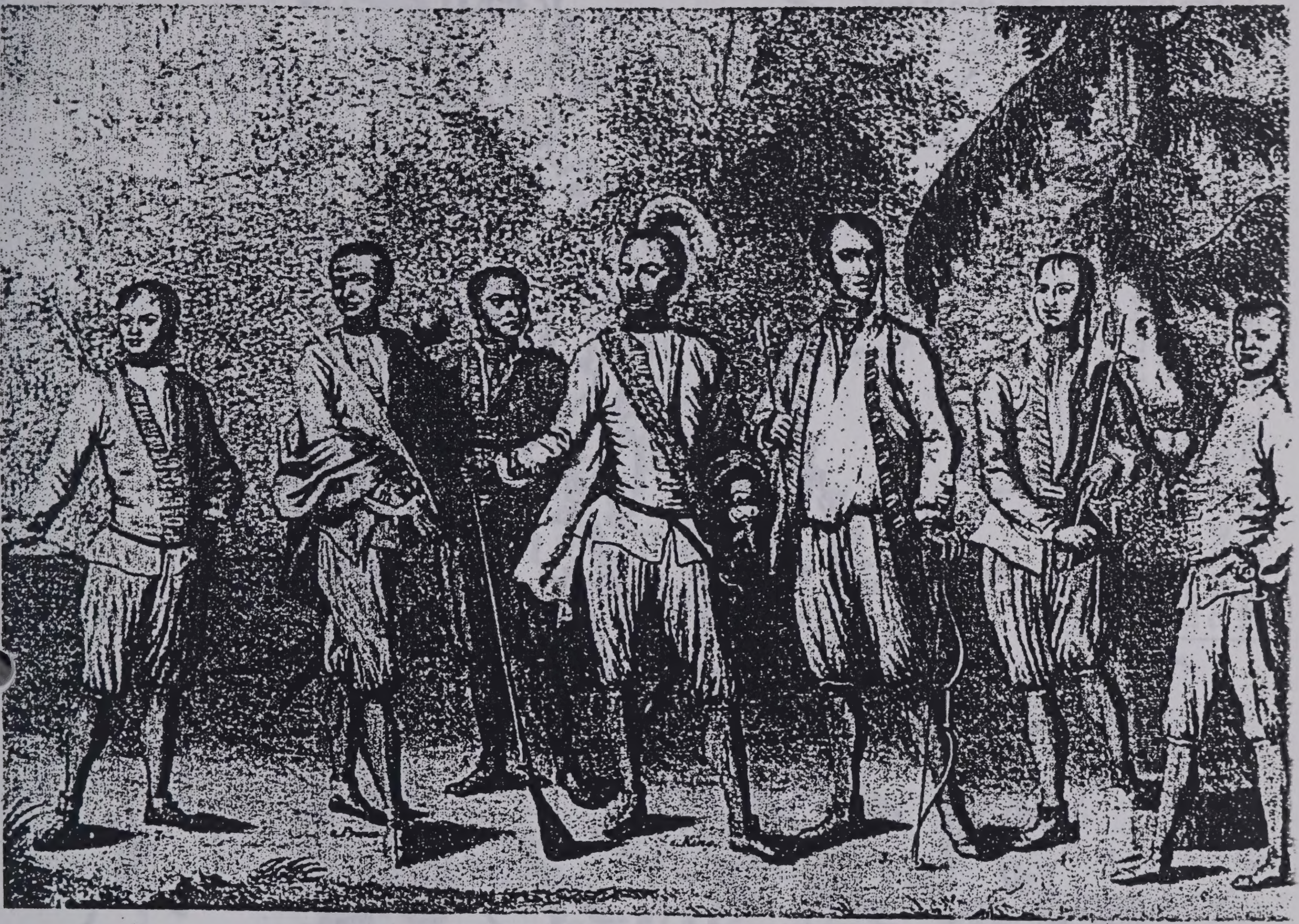
*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel Cole Williams (1937) page 149

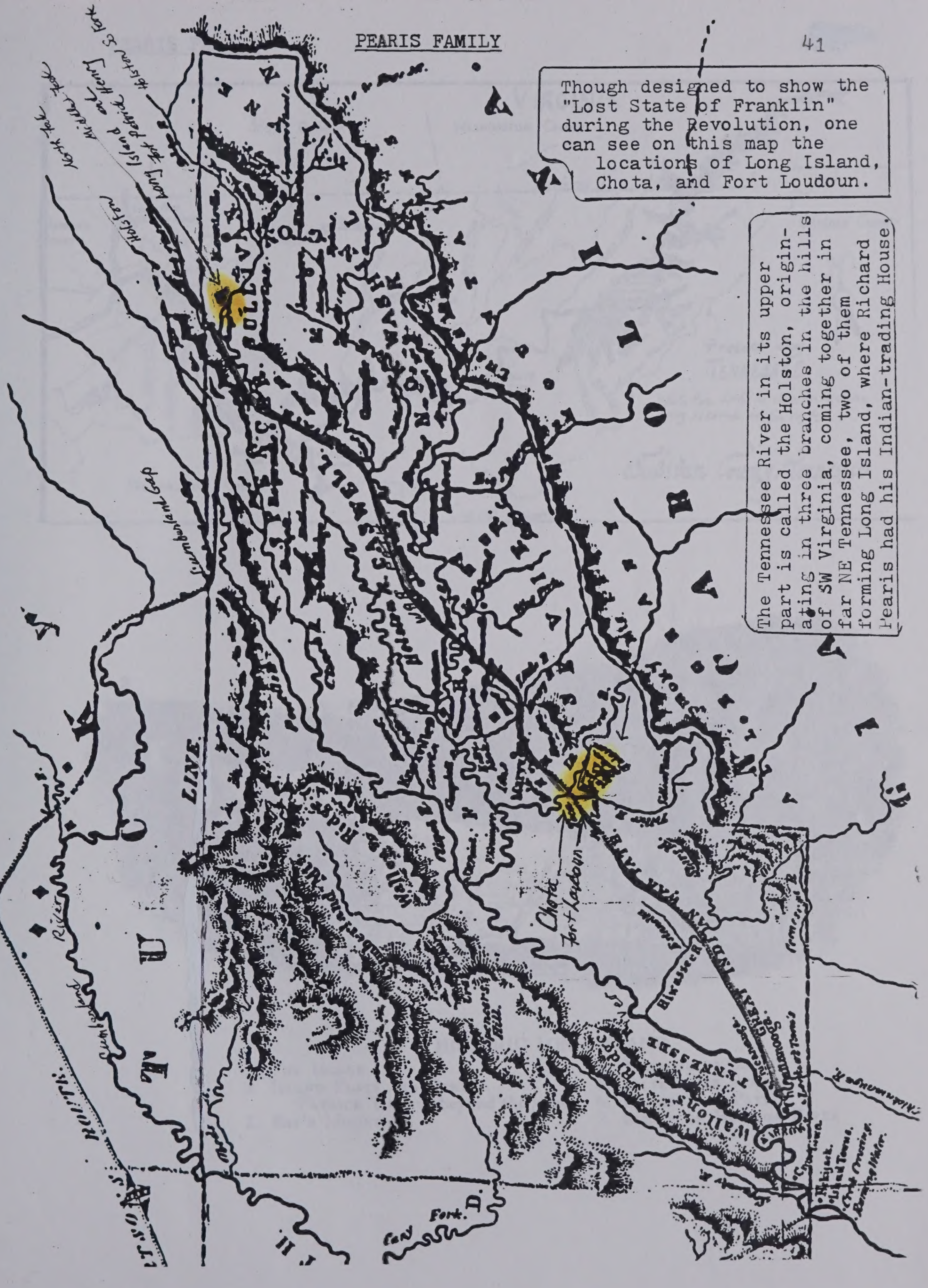
**Seedtime on the Cumberland, Harriette Simpson Arnow (1960) pages 302 & 184-5



Reproduced from painting in Smithsonian Museum - based on engraving in the British Museum by Isaac Basire, after Markham's painting.

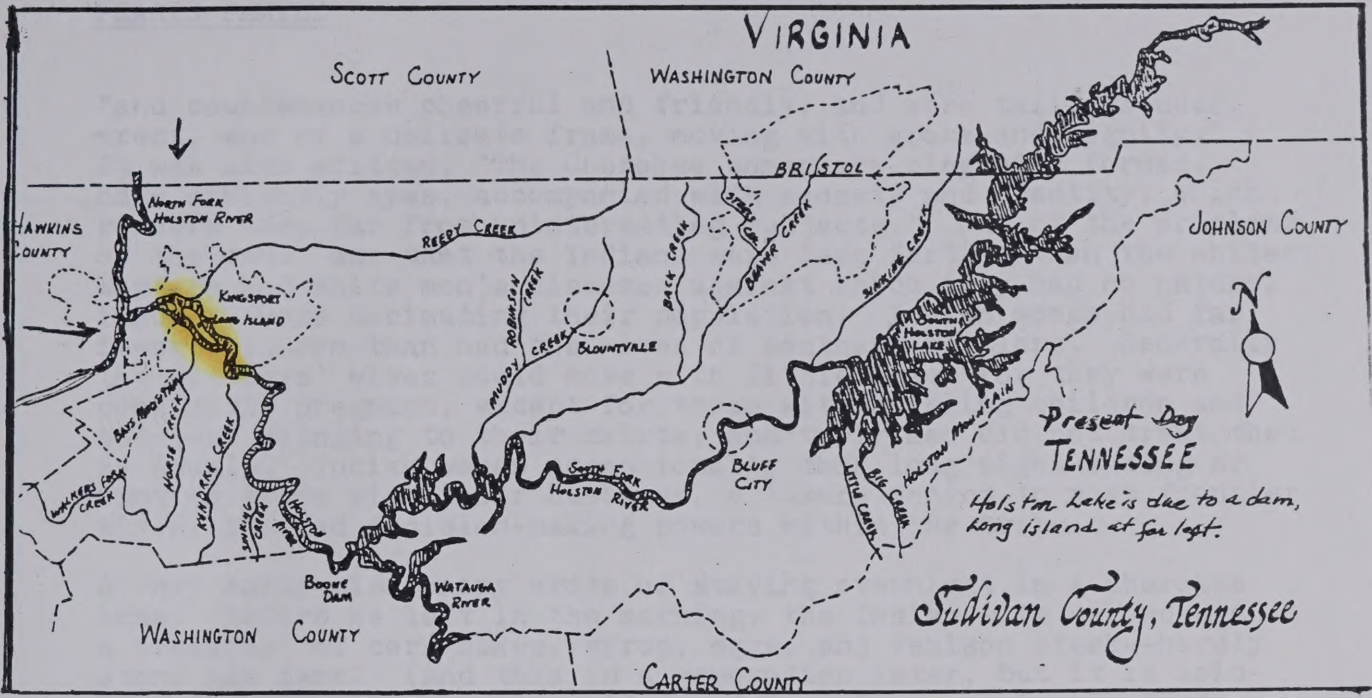
Cherokee Indians brought to London in 1730 by Alexander Cuming. Left to right - Onacarona, Categusta, Caulunna, Oukah Olah, Tathowe, Clogoitta, and Ukwaneequa, who later grew up to be the great chief, Attakullakulla also called the Little Carpenter because of his diplomatic ability of bringing people together, a builder of good will. (Onacarona carried a small saber, cut off in this reproduction.

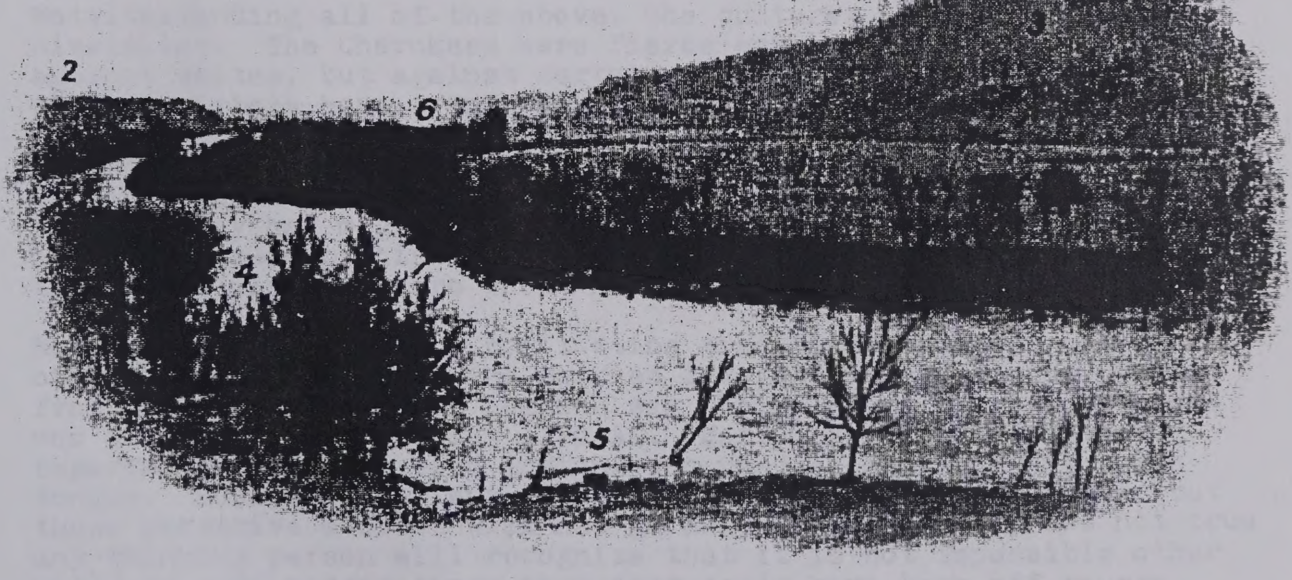
The finery they are wearing consists of gifts, not native costume, except that a chief might really wear feathers on his head.


North Fork
Middle Fork
Island and Henry
Long Fort Patrick Holston So Fork
Holston
Cumberland Gap
Chota
Fort Loudoun
Cumberland River
LINE
SULLIVAN
WASHINGTON
GREENE
TENNESSEE
Hiwassee
Wallons Ridge
Cumberland Mts

Though designed to show the "Lost State of Franklin" during the Revolution, one can see on this map the locations of Long Island, Chota, and Fort Loudoun.

The Tennessee River in its upper part is called the Holston, originating in three branches in the hills of SW Virginia, coming together in far NE Tennessee, two of them forming Long Island, where Richard Pearis had his Indian-trading House.


VIRGINIA
Scott County
Washington County
Bristol
Hawkins County
North Fork Holston River
Reedy Creek
Kingsport
Long Island
Bays Mountain
Horse Creek
Kindrick Creek
Walkers Fork Creek
Spring Creek
Holston River
Muddy Creek
Robinson Creek
Back Creek
Steele Creek
Beaver Creek
Blountville
Sinking Creek
South Holston Lake
Holston Mountain
Johnson County
Bluff City
South Fork Holston River
Little Creek
Big Creek
Boone Dam
Watauga River
Washington County
Carter County
N
Present Day TENNESSEE
Holston Lake is due to a dam, Long Island at far left.
Sullivan County, Tennessee



HISTORIC LONG ISLAND

1. The Island
2. Island Flats and Fort Patrick Henry (beyond the ridge)
3. Bay's Mountain
4. Tilthammer Shoals
5. Tilthammer Rock
6. Indian War Path
7. Sluice of Holston River

"and countenances cheerful and friendly, and were tall, slender, erect, and of a delicate frame, moving with grace and dignity." It was also written, "The Cherokee women are elegantly formed, have sprightly eyes, accompanied with modesty and chastity, which renders them far from uninteresting subjects." Cne of the problems of the race was that the Indians were less fertile than the whites. Warfare and white men's diseases against which they had no natural immunity were decimating their population. Indian women had far fewer children than had the wives of southern settlers. Generally the settlers' wives could move with little grace for they were constantly pregnant, except for those with suckling children and toddlers clinging to their skirts; and their men did not treat them as equals. Indian women occasionally took long sight-seeing or hunting trips with their husbands, a luxury denied to most frontier wives, and had decision-making powers within the tribe.

A very early missionary wrote of staying overnight in a Cherokee home. Before he left in the morning, the Indian wife served him a breakfast of corn cakes, syrup, eggs, and venison steak--hardly Stone Age fare. (And this is a generation later, but it is told that Cherokees temporarily kidnapped Mrs. Bean, a pioneer East Tennessee housewife, telling her they were taking her to their town to teach their women how to make such delicious cheese as she did, Mrs. Bean probably did not care for the idea, but in a way it was a compliment to both races, showing both had sophisticated tastes.)

Notwithstanding all of the above, the cultures certainly were dissimilar. The Cherokees were fierce warriors, not only sometimes against whites, but against certain other neighboring tribes, ~~which we wont go into here~~. They were relatives of the equally fierce Iroquois tribes of New York, with whom they retained close ties regardless of the distance between them, having some of the same enemies such as the Shawnees. Some scientists think that early in time they had migrated southward. They disclaimed any knowledge of the ~~ruins of~~ prehistoric Indian ruins in Tennessee, claiming those were already there when they came.

Nevertheless, there is a conflicting tradition that will not go away* of prehistoric Welshmen who married into the tribe, having come up from the Alabama coast. Legends say their leader was Prince Madoc who founded a colony about 1170 AD. Early explorers (Spaniards) reported seeing blue-eyed Indians who used elements of the Welsh tongue. Modern historians give little credence to such tales, but those pervasive stories will not go away. Even if they are not true any thinking person will recognize that it is not impossible other ships in more modern times than that could have been off course, shipwrecked on the Atlantic or Gulf coast, and the occupants assimilated with the natives before migration began. Whether all this happened before the Cherokees moved South is a moot point, but even Daniel Boone, in his early East Tennessee peregrinations (later than

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*Early Times in the Cumberland Valley, James A. Crutchfield (1976) page 36

Richard's) said that he ran across a group of blue-eyed Indians he felt was "of the same kith and kin as the Welsh, though I have no means of assessing their language." One might argue that by the 1760's there had been enough mixing of the races, whether or not sired by Welshmen, that the blue-eyed Indians could have been half-breeds. There are still other tales of the lost English colony on Roanoke Island planted by Sir Walter Raleigh in the 1580's, alleged to have mixed with the Croatan Indians; and also the mysterious Mellungeons. But that is getting too far off our topic. We are interested only in Richard Pearis, his wife Rhoda, and their associates.

In the years Richard was trading there, he thought Long Island was in Augusta County, Virginia; in fact for the next score of years everybody thought that was Virginia. A more modern map of Sullivan Co. Tennessee, presented here, shows it really isn't all that far from the border. The Colonists all got there down the Indian trail between forks of the Holston River, not over the mountains from Carolina, though it is very possible the Indians crossed the mountains, for they lived in them and on both sides of them. Another author, who did not much care for Cherokees because of later events, wrote another version.*

"The Cherokee tribe of Indians, at the time of the settlement of Southwest Virginia, inhabited one of the most attractive sections of the American Continent, occupying the banks of the Catawba, Savannah, Yadkin and Tennessee rivers on the east and south and several of the feeders of the Tennessee on the west. There were no fortresses to be found among them. Their settlements were rude huts scattered irregularly along some waterway convenient to good pasture land and hunting and fishing grounds. They usually had small clearings which were cultivated by the women and children in Indian corn and beans.

"But little of the history of the Cherokees can be gathered from their traditions. The existence of this tribe of Indians was noted by the historian of the expedition of DeSoto when traveling in the South, and it is said that they came originally from east of the Alleghany mountains. Their principal town or capital city was Choto, located about five miles from the ruins of Fort Loudon, in Tennessee. They were the mountain people of America and loved their homes and their liberties.

"They frequently aided the early settlers of this portion of America in their wars with the French and English, a company of Indians from this tribe having participated in the siege of Fort Du Quesne under Captain Pearis, but much oftener did they carry death into the homes of the early settlers of the Carolinas and Virginia.

"The tribe, previous to 1769, were numerous and exceedingly quarrelsome and arrogant. At this time they quarreled with the Chickasaw Indians and undertook an invasion of their country, but were

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*History of Southwest Virginia, Lewis P. Summers pages 31-2

"overwhelmed by the Chickasaws after a great battle at the Chickasaw old fields...there can be no doubt that this occurrence contributed much to the rapid settlement of this (SW) settlement of Virginia. For thirty years following the advent of the first settlers into this country the Cherokees killed and scalped the Inhabitants at every opportunity.

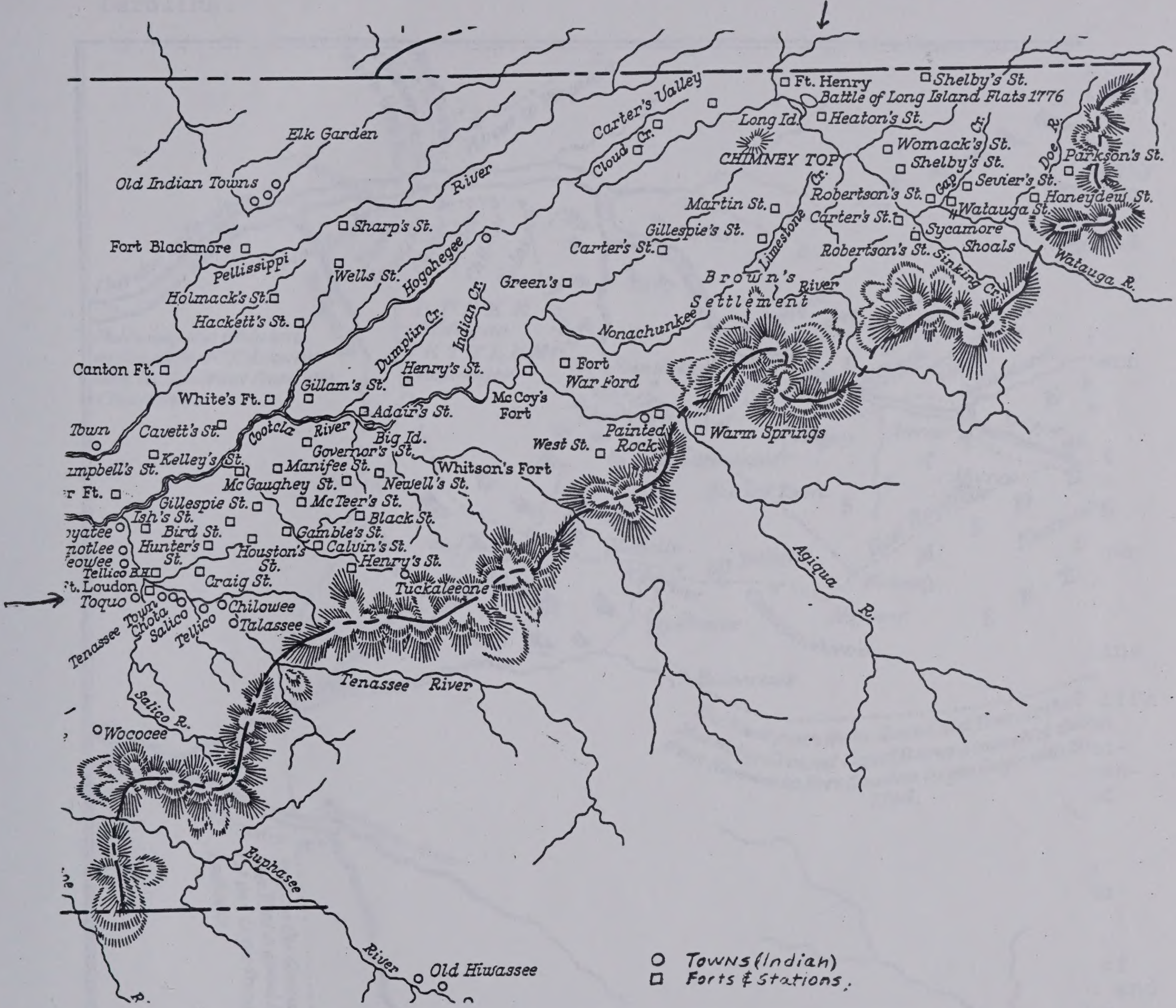
"The population in 1735 was considerable. Adair says that they had sixty-four populous towns, and their fighting men numbered above six thousand. In the year 1776 the number of warriors pertaining to this tribe was two thousand four hundred and ninety-one." The underlining is mine. So much for the beneficial effects of the "civilized" white man on the Cherokee Tribe!!

As of 1750 there was much rivalry among the American colonies, instead of cooperation, with Virginia and South Carolina competing for the same fur trade. That year the Overhills used violence on some Carolina traders guilty of gross cheating. Instead of enforcing stricter regulations, their Governor Glen sought to punish the Indians by curtailing all trade with them. In desperation, Cherokee leader Attakullakulla (the Little Carpenter) led a group to Williamsburg, the Virginia capitol, to ask Acting Governor Lee for an active trade agreement. Lee received them "with open arms and carressed some of the Cherokees" who had given offense to the South. However, the salutary effect of the meeting was partially negated when some rowdy borderers manhandled the Little Carpenter on the way homeward.

Glen, very angry at Lee, protested to Lee that there should be no meddling by Virginia with South Carolina's wards, that the delegation had made false claims, and that "among them there were no people of eminence or dignity." To placate him, Lee inserted a notice in the Virginia Gazette of 16 Aug 1751 that "the inhabitants of this Colony may be Cautious in their communications with the Overhills." "Such a qualified admonition meant nothing to the bold traders on the upper reaches of the Holston such as Richard Pearis, Samuel Stalnacker, and Erwin Patterson. If they ever heard of the notice in the Gazette they continued in trade."

No wonder, for they had no need of such advice. By then Richard knew the Indians personally. He was already speaking to them in their own language. He understood the way they thought and was not taken in by any attempts at guile. Though firm in business dealings, he had acquired a certain sympathy for them, perhaps partly due to Rhoda's influence. There was much to sympathize with, for even then they were weakening in manpower, not only from intertribal wars, but from rum sold them by traders and white mens diseases

Their principal towns at this time were given as Great Tellico, Chatuga, Tenase, Chota, Toqua, Settiquo and Talassee. Indian languages consisted of gutteral sounds difficult for the Colonials to grasp--they might spell a word in as many ways as there were listeners, but one can see the towns listed above at upper left on the map presented here.

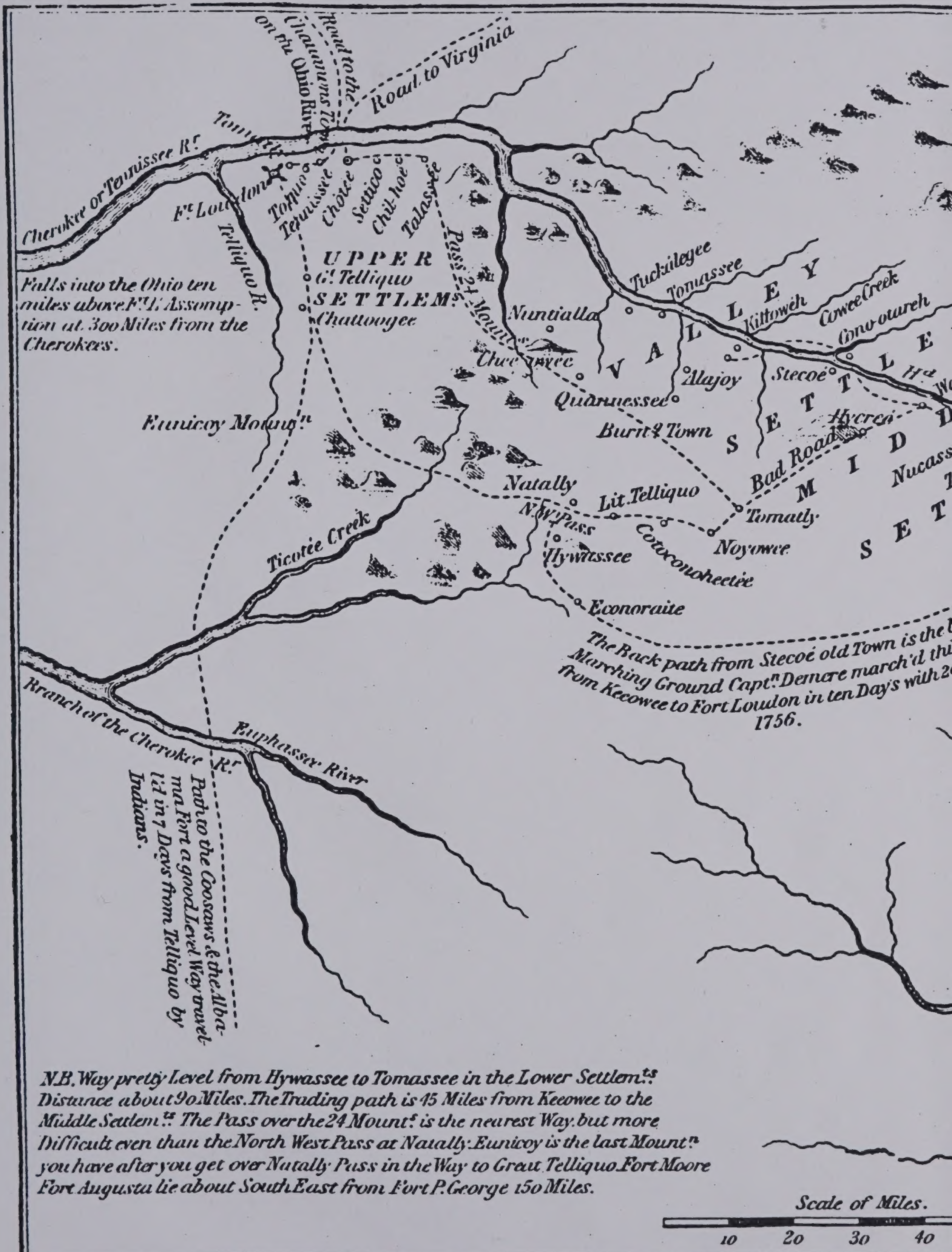

Ft. Henry
Shelby's St.
Battle of Long Island Flats 1776
Carter's Valley
Long Id.
Heaton's St.
Elk Garden
Cloud Cr.
CHIMNEY TOP
Womack's St.
Shelby's St.
Doe R.
Parkson's St.
Old Indian Towns
River
Martin St.
Robertson's St.
Gap Cr.
Sevier's St.
Honeydew St.
Watauga St.
Gillespie's St.
Carter's St.
Sharp's St.
Sycamore Shoals
Fort Blackmore
Carter's St.
Limestone Cr.
Robertson's St.
Sinking Cr.
Watauga R.
Pellissippi
Wells St.
Hogahegee
Green's
Brown's River
Settlement
Holmack's St.
Indian Cr.
Hackett's St.
Dumplin Cr.
Nonachunkee
Canton Ft.
Henry's St.
Fort War Ford
Gillam's St.
White's Ft.
Mc Coy's Fort
Adair's St.
Town
Cavett's St.
Cootcla River
Big Id.
Painted Rock
Warm Springs
West St.
Governor's St.
Kelley's St.
Manifee St.
Whitson's Fort
Newell's St.
McGaughey St.
McTeer's St.
Gillespie St.
Ish's St.
Black St.
Bird St.
Gamble's St.
Hunter's St.
Houston's St.
Calvin's St.
Henry's St.
Agiqua R.
Tellico
Craig St.
Tuckaleeone
Ft. Loudon
Toquo
Chilowee
Tenassee Town
Chota
Salico
Tellico
Talassee
Tenassee River
Salico R.
Wococee
Euphasee
River
Old Hiwassee
○ Towns (Indian)
□ Forts & Stations.

Map of the East Tennessee area showing forts and Indian towns. (Map courtesy of Tennessee State Library and Archives)

If Rhoda Pearis was Richard's Indian sweetheart, referred to on page 49 by Nathaniel Gist and Old Hop, She came from the Cherokee town at Toquo, shown just below Fort Loudon, far left center on the map above. (Taken from History of Washington County, Tennessee page 17 (1988). Long Island at upper right.

Obviously, the stations and forts were built at a later date, around the onset of the Revolutionary War.

This map shows the locations of the Overhill Cherokee towns as of about 1760, & also the Lower Cherokee settlements in South Carolina.


Road to the Shawanus Towns on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
Cherokee or Tenissee R.r
Tomotly
F.t Loudon
Toqua
Tenissee
Choteé
Settico
Chilhoe
Talassee
Telliquo R.
UPPER
G.t Telliquo
SETTLEM.s
Chattoogee
Pass 24 Mount.s
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F.t L'Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
Eunicoy Mount.n
Tuckaleegee
Tomassee
Nuntialla
Cheewee
VALLEY
SETTLE
Kittowah
Cowee Creek
Cono-oureh
Alajoy
Stecoe
Quanuessee
Burnt Town
Bad Road
Hycrea
MIDD
Nucass
Natally
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
N.W. Pass
Hywassee
Cotoconoheetee
Noyowee
SET
Ticotee Creek
Econoraite
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this from Keowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 20 1756.
Branch of the Cherokee R.r
Euphassee River
Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travell'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.
Scale of Miles.
10
20
30
40

N.B. Way pretty Level from Hywassee to Tomassee in the Lower Settlem.ts Distance about 90 Miles. The Trading path is 45 Miles from Keowee to the Middle Settlem.ts The Pass over the 24 Mount.s is the nearest Way but more Difficult even than the North West Pass at Natally. Eunicoy is the last Mount.n you have after you get over Natally Pass in the Way to Great Telliquo. Fort Moore Fort Augusta lie about South East from Fort P. George 150 Miles.

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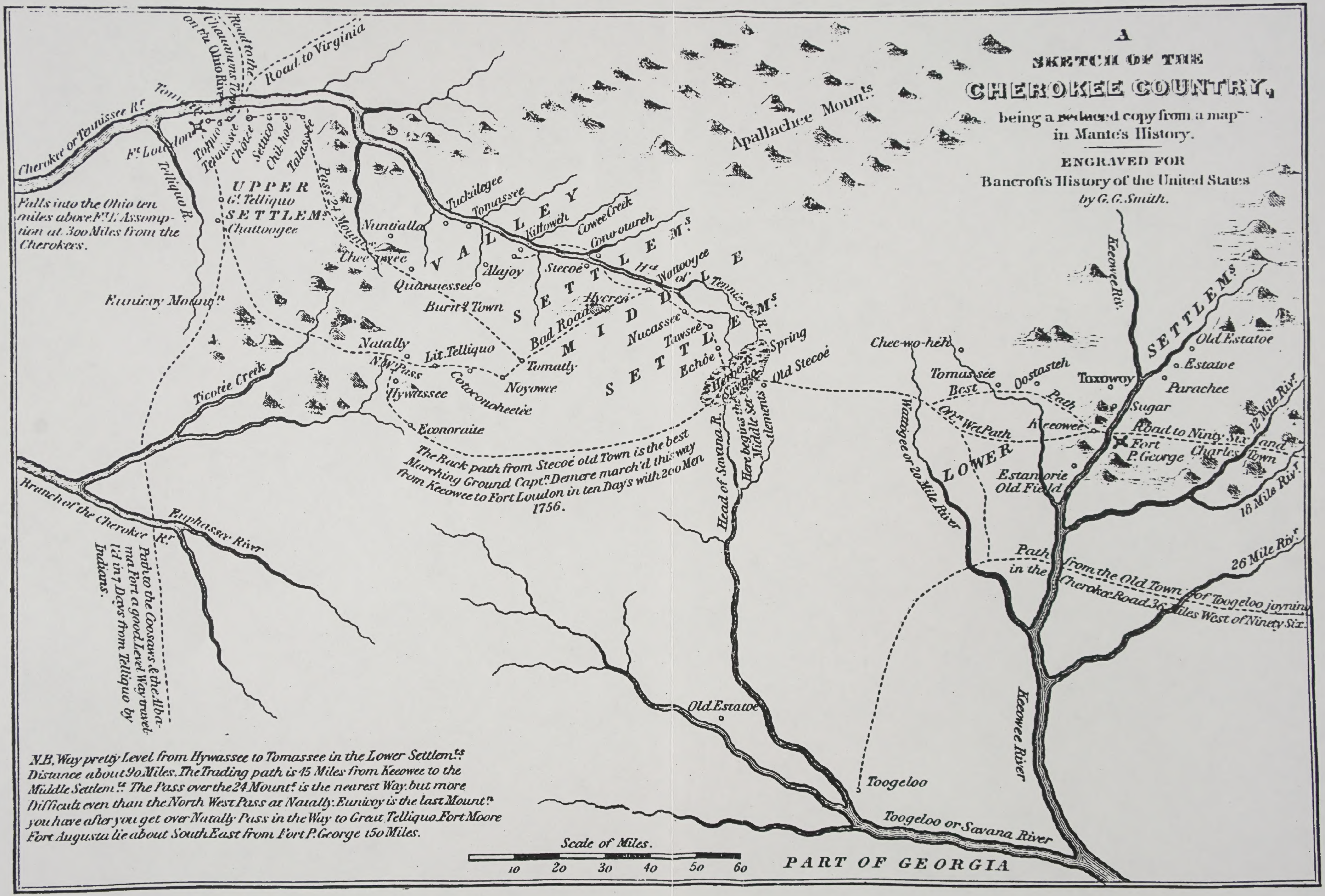

A
SKETCH OF THE
CHEROKEE COUNTRY,
being a reduced copy from a map
in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR
Bancroft's History of the United States
by G. G. Smith.

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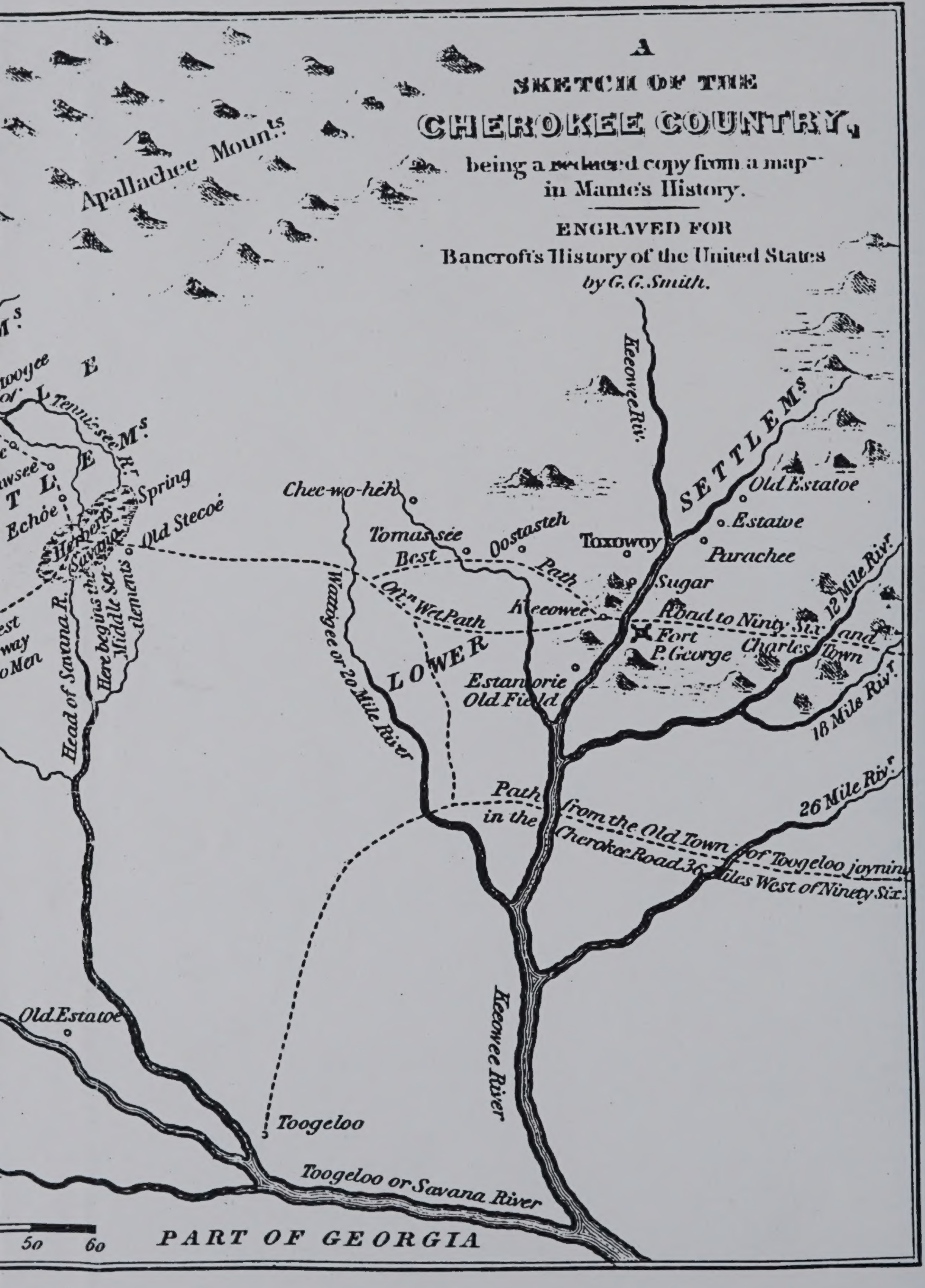
Cherokee or Tennissee R.r
Tenn. R.
Road to the Chauanons Town on the Ohio River
Road to Virginia
F.t Loudon
Toquo
Tennissee
Choice
Settico
Chil-hoe
Talassee
Telliquo R.
UPPER
G.t Telliquo
SETTLEM.s
Chattoogee
Falls into the Ohio ten miles above F.t.t Assomption at 300 Miles from the Cherokees.
Pass 24 Mount.s
Nuntialla
Cheewayee
Quanuessee
Burnt Town
Eunicoy Mount.n
Tuckalegee
Tomassee
Kittoweh
Cowee Creek
Cono-outeh
VALLEY
SETTLEM.s
Alajoy
Stecoe
Hd. of Wattoogee
Tennissee R.r
Hycrea
Bad Road
MIDDLE
SETTLEM.s
Nucassee
Tawsee
Echoe
Spring
Old Stecoe
Heroes Savage
Natally
N.W. Pass
Lit. Telliquo
Tomatly
Noyowee
Hywassee
Cotoconoheetee
Econoraite
Ticotee Creek
The Back path from Stecoe old Town is the best Marching Ground Capt.n Demere march'd this way from Keeowee to Fort Loudon in ten Days with 200 Men 1756.
Head of Savana R.
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Apallachee Mount.s
Keeowee Riv.
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Best
Oostasteh
Path
Old Wet Path
Toxowoy
Keeowee
LOWER
SETTLEM.s
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Sugar
Road to Ninety Six and Charles Town
Fort P. George
12 Mile Riv.r
18 Mile Riv.r
Estanorie Old Field
Wattogee or 20 Mile River
Path from the Old Town of Toogeloo joyning in the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.
26 Mile Riv.r
Branch of the Cherokee R.r
Euphasee River
Path to the Coosaws & the Albama Fort a good Level Way travel'd in 7 Days from Telliquo by Indians.
Old Estatoe
Toogeloo
Keeowee River
Toogeloo or Savana River
Scale of Miles.
10
20
30
40
50
60
PART OF GEORGIA



A
SKETCH OF THE
CHEROKEE COUNTRY,
being a reduced copy from a map in Mante's History.

ENGRAVED FOR
Bancroft's History of the United States
by G. G. Smith.

Apallachee Moun.ts
M.s
E
L
Tennessee R.r
M.s
E
T
L
Echôe
Spring
Herberts
Savage
Old Stecoé
Here begins the Middle Settlements
Head of Savana R.
Chee-wo-heh
Tomassee
Oostasteh
Best Path
Toxoway
Keeowee Riv.r
SETTLEM.s
Old Estatoe
Estatoe
Parachee
Sugar
Keeowee
Oth.r W.t Path
Road to Ninety Six and Charles Town
Fort P. George
12 Mile Riv.r
18 Mile Riv.r
LOWER
Estatoerie Old Field
Wattagee or 20 Mile River
Path in the Cherokee Road 36 Miles West of Ninety Six.
from the Old Town of Toogeloo joyning
26 Mile Riv.r
Old Estatoe
Toogeloo
Keeowee River
Toogeloo or Savana River
50
60
PART OF GEORGIA

In 1751, when Richard Pearis and Thomas Price were trading on the Forks of Holston, the area all around was filled with intrigue. North Carolina, as yet underdeveloped with most of the population along the eastern sector but with no very good seaport, was "a modest colony between two proud ones," and limited finances, so did not actively compete for Cherokee trade even though some of them were living there, but South Carolina considered them her private property to be exploited and warned Virginia to keep hands off. There was no market for furs in warm sunny Spain, owner of Florida and all the land along the Gulf coast. The Spanish derived most of their profit from possessions farther south; nevertheless, they disliked all English so hindered their trade whenever convenient.

The French were actively hostile, primarily through Fort Toulouse and the New Orleans headquarters, but also Detroit and other western outposts, they used all means possible to effect an alliance with Cherokees and other tribes against the English. They won over two powerful Cherokee chiefs. Attakullakulla (Little Carpenter) had lived--happily it seems--for seven years as a captive of a Detroit River Ottawa tribe allied with the French who won him over despite the fact of his having visited England as a teenager and and having signed a pledge of friendship with them. Old Hop, the other, had gone so far as to harbor a friendly captive, French John, in his own household, who took advantage of the situation for much intrigue.

On the other hand, several influential leaders like Osteneco at Tomatly and Long John's Brother at Tenase sided with the Carolinians and eventually won ascendancy through the use of force. During a brawl Little Carpenter was set upon and beaten so badly that his life was despaired of. He capitulated, acknowledging that he HAD given his word and would honor it. Upon caving in, Old Hop took some gunpowder and wandered off intending to commit suicide before his frantic family caught up and dissuaded him. Governor Glen had labored long and hard to win over these allies for the English. At this point he did not consider the domination to be entirely secure. It is no wonder he was not anxious to share them. South Carolina colonial records of this period do not have anything flattering to say of any Virginians. Richard Pearis was a Virginian.

Virginia Governor Robert Dinwiddie, keenly aware of his own lack of experience in dealing with Indians, sought advice on this subject and was told that the most effective way to deter the red enemy on the Forks of Ohio was to "fight Indians with Indians" and that the Shawnees were afraid of Cherokees. Ignoring Glen, he sent Abraham Smith, an interpreter, to Chota late in 1753, urging the tribe to assist next spring in expelling the French at Fort Duquesne. As a rebuff, the emissary was haughtily informed that they possessed no ammunition for such a venture.

Our Richard, being the adventurous opportunist that he was, perceived a way to take advantage of the situation to help both Virginia and himself. Historians are vague about how he became involved, but it

(is known that he had a mistress at Toquo.* (This is on the trading path, a little west of Chota--see map. Was this lady, referred to in various books as his "common-law Indian wife," Rhoda or an earlier wife? She was most likely the mother of his oldest son, George Pearis--whether she was also mother of our Sarah and little Margaret is unknown, but it makes good sense that he would have taken her out of harm's way to Virginia later on.) At any rate, with his expertise in the Cherokee tongue it did not take him long to hear of Dinwiddie's ambitions; perhaps he even witnessed the gathering with Smith. The Governor did not realize it, but the emissary he had chosen was already unpopular with some of the tribe. Richard knew how to get along with them and decided to contact Dinwiddie. Some of the correspondence between them has been preserved. It shows that, though both were patriotic, each tried to use the other to his own ends. Unfortunately, Richard's debt to Christopher Gist proved to be an impediment, for when the Gists got wind of what was transpiring, they tried to steal the scheme. And Glen, hearing rumors, tried to nip the whole idea in the bud.

Early in 1754 Richard Pearis showed up in Chota with several pack horses laden with trading goods and a message from the Virginia governor, in which he promised to meet all of their demands.

> "The Chota headmen received Pearis kindly, took advantage of the generous terms on which he traded, and listened to Dinwiddie's talk; but mindful of Glen's opposition and willing to create a bargaining situation, they demanded that the Virginia governor produce tangibles. Pearis worked hard to change their minds. He refused to write out their reply...until they should accompany him to Stalnaker's halfway to the Potomac, where he hoped to find rum and presents. But the headmen would not move. Pearis finally prevailed upon the Little Carpenter to entrust him with a message to Dinwiddie stating that Glen had restrained the Cherokees from going to Virginia. Pearis and Smith, each accompanied by half a dozen unofficial Cherokees, arrived at Williamsburg too late for the the Washington expedition. Primarily the Virginia failure in the 1754 negotiations was...Dinwiddie's fault."

Because he had insisted on unilateral negotiations instead of recognizing Carolina sovereignty and acting through Glen, who would then have cooperated--the quote was written from a Carolina viewpoint, but there is much truth in it. Dinwiddie then became miffed unfairly at Pearis because he couldn't deliver. For his next emissary he chose Nathaniel Gist, Christopher's son, to offer a gift of "great and everlasting trade" in return for warriors, as well as a message from Indian Supt. Sir William Johnson that the Six Nations of the North would join them in defeating the French. The message created much enthusiasm at first, until they began to hear conflicting reports about northern Indians. Meanwhile Glen, hearing that the Crown

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*The Cherokee Frontier - Conflict and Survival 1740-62 by David H. Corkran, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman OK. The last four pages of this chapter borrow heavily from the 4th chapt. of that book, pages 50-65.

had allocated money to Virginia for a Cherokee fort, sent Richard Smith, Abraham's brother, with a message demanding a meeting before they should take any action. Smith arrived very late, having become snowbound in winter storms in the mountains, and arrived late in February after Gist.

"With propositions of two Colonial governors before them, the Chota bargaining position...had never been better. Headmen would meet in March to decide...The interlude was lightened by the drama of Richard Pearis who, unwanted and unauthorized, now again projected himself into the Cherokee scene where he was to be an important factor for several years to come. Pearis having failed in his 1754 mission, Dinwiddie had refused to see him on his return..he then relayed the Little Carpenter's pipe and message to Dinwiddie along with a proposal that he and Nathaniel Gist be licensed to open a trading post for the Cherokees at Great Island of the Holston. This location being in Virginia, Carolina could not complain...apparently believing the Gists approved the project, he relented toward Pearis and sent him a letter approving the Great Island project.

"But by then Christopher Gist had seen fit to drop his support of Pearis and sued him forthe money lent him. The project collapsed and Pearis ceased for thetime being to have any connection with Dinwiddie. Pearis was an adventurer ambitious for wealth and position. Since he had been dropped by Gist, the large sum Pearis had advanced in credit to the Overhills became his own liability and he decided his future lay with the Cherokees. Though bankrupt, he gathered together a few sacks of trade goods and some kegs of whisky and dispatched them to Chota under the care of a packhorseman, to whom he announced he would soon come to the nation as Dinwiddie's agent.

"Young Gist appears to have had some idea of what Pearis intended, for when Pearis' man was but three days from Chota, a gang set upon him and took nothing but the letter to Old Hop. In Chota town house, Gist had the letter translated to theFire King while he mimicked Pearis and ridiculed him. When a few days later Pearis...passed Chota on the other side of the river, word got around that he had gone directly to his Indian mistress at Toquo. Old Hop summoned him to Chota where, amid raucous Indian laughter the Fire King asked how long the Governor of Virginia had been corresponding with Cherokee wenches. Pearis turned angrily upon Gist and accused him of treachery. Old Hop..sternly ordered...him to leave and confine himself to trade. Nevertheless, Pearis eventually achieved more for Virginia among the Overhills than did Nathaniel Gist."

Under Gist's spell they resolved to send a large group of warriors when, all of a sudden, forty Shawnees and Mingos from Logstown arrived on behalf of the commander at Fort Duquesne and the message that the Six Nations had declared neutrality. Gripped in fear, they refused to budge. Gist took back to Virginia a false tale that Pearis had used liquor to defeat the Virginia project, and Dinwiddie, after Braddock's defeat, wildly blamed both Glen and Pearis for the Cherokee failure to support the British expedition. (Actually, Braddock's distaste for Indians was so great he would have alienated them himself, as he did the Delawares.)

Glen called the headmen to a large conference at Saluda, during which, in exchange for an immense cessation of land, he guaranteed greatly expanded trade plus a large fort for their protection, manned by white soldiers, on the Little Tennessee near Chota. Frightened as they still were of French/Shawnee attack, the proposal was gratefully accepted. After this Oconostota dispatched war parties against French Indians on the Wabash and Illinois, but they did not send warriors to Virginia, still waiting for the "great and constant trade" promised by Gist. They were yet reluctant to break the recent agreement with the Shawnees.

"Shortly, however, due to the efforts of none other than Richard Pearis, the Cherokee mood toward Virginia softened. Late in July, having satisfied Gist and regained Dinwiddie's confidence, Pearis returned to Chota. He bore a message from Dinwiddie, penned before Braddock's defeat, urging Cherokees to send help to the British general. Greeted coldly at first, for Carolina traders had circulated a rumor he had come to collect $2,500 owed him by Indians, he endeared himself to the Overhills by publicly burning his accounts and ledgers. They could not then ignore his mission...but they sent Old Hop's adopted son Cappy to Williamsburg..with a proposition..If Dinwiddie would build a fort on the Great Island, they would send warriors to protect lands and properties deserted by inhabitants of Virginia's SW frontier and go against Shawnees. Pearis had achieved a major coup in winning Cherokees to his program. So high did they esteem him that they asked Dinwiddie to use him as Virginia's agent in all future communications to them. But their contribution in 1755 was meager as pessimism set in when Glen was slow to implement his Saluda promises and the French threat moved closer to home."

In Chapter Three we read how the time of Braddock's disaster coincided with a massacre at Draper's Meadows not far from the home of Richard's brother, George Pearis Jr. On 8 July 1755 Northern Indians killed Col. James Patton and several others. They stole his stores of ammunition and took several prisoners, among them the pregnant Mrs. William Ingles and two little sons whom they carried to the Shawnee towns on the Scioto across the Ohio. Ingles andDraper did all they could to secure their return, including a trip to Williamsburg to seek help. In another raid, Cherokee trader Samuel Stalnaker was captured and his wife and son Adam killed and scalped. Though not recorded in history, we may be sure many messages passed back and forth between the Pearis brothers.

That winter, to show their sincerity, 130 Overhills led by Ostenaco and the Yellow Bird with Richard Pearis as interpreter departed for the Virginia frontier where, based at David Robertson's fort on New River, they stood that winter between SW Virginia and the Shawnees.

In December, Ostenaco, ambitious for Virginia favor and bored with the confinement ofdefense along the quiet frontier, suggested a bold plan which he urged Richard to place before the Governor. The outcome is described in next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX - THE BIG SANDY EXPEDITION

"Ingles and Draper, brooding in their sorrow at Dunkard's Fort* had no chance to organize a search for their missing families... At last men made a trip to the friendly Cherokees on the Tennessee and conferred with Virginia traders there, particularly Richard Pearis, a favorite among the Overhill Indians, as the settlers called the Cherokee. They also laid their troubles before Chief Attakullakulla, who was always well disposed toward the English when other chiefs had been noncommital or hostile. The distraut men offered to employ Cherokee emissaries to go to the Shawnee nation to ransom their wives and children."

Now Gov. Dinwiddie (in spite of Washington's misgivings that the scheme might backfire) conceived the notion of sending an expedition including Cherokee warriors down the Sandy River (presently part of the Kentucky boundary) to attack the Shawnees on the Scioto River, on the opposite bank of the Ohio. The plan looked fine on paper. The actual distance was about what he estimated; but because it had not been fully surveyed they failed to take into account the ruggedness of the terrain or wildness of the river with its steep banks, mountainous in stretches they didn't know about, with no game to be had in emergencies. The men were inadequately provisioned for such a difficult mission. Worst of all, they set out when the river was swollen from late winter thaw and the current swift and uncontrollable.

Because of his knowledge of terrain through which the raiders had come, Ingles was selected as a scout, organized by Major Andrew Lewis in charge. Thirty rangers led by Capt. William Preston, who avowed to avenge the death of his uncle, Col. James Patton, arrived first. Capt. Peter Hogg had 40, Capt. John Smith 30, Samuel Overton 30, Obediah Woodson 40. Other captains were Robert Breckenridge, Archibald Alexander, John Montgomery, and __?__ Dunlap. On the first night out, those coming from up the Valley stayed at the farm of Francis Cyphers, close neighbor of George Pearis. The frontiersmen gathered at a fort just west of present Salem, Virginia. When they reached Dunkard's Fort they were joined by a hundred Cherokee and 30 Chickasaw warriors under the leadership of Chief Ostenaco (also called Outacity or Judd's Friend) and Captain Richard Pearis, the Virginia trader.

"The expedition left the Fort on 19 February 1756 for the long, hard march through the mountainous country penetrated by the Big Sandy River and its tributaries. Known in pioneer history as the "Big Sandy Voyage," it proved a disastrous failure."

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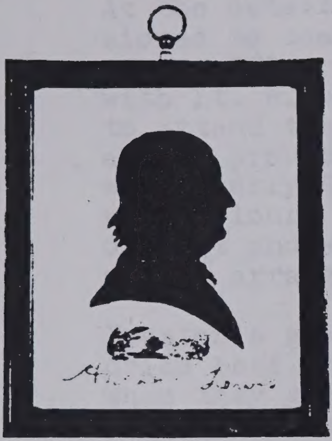
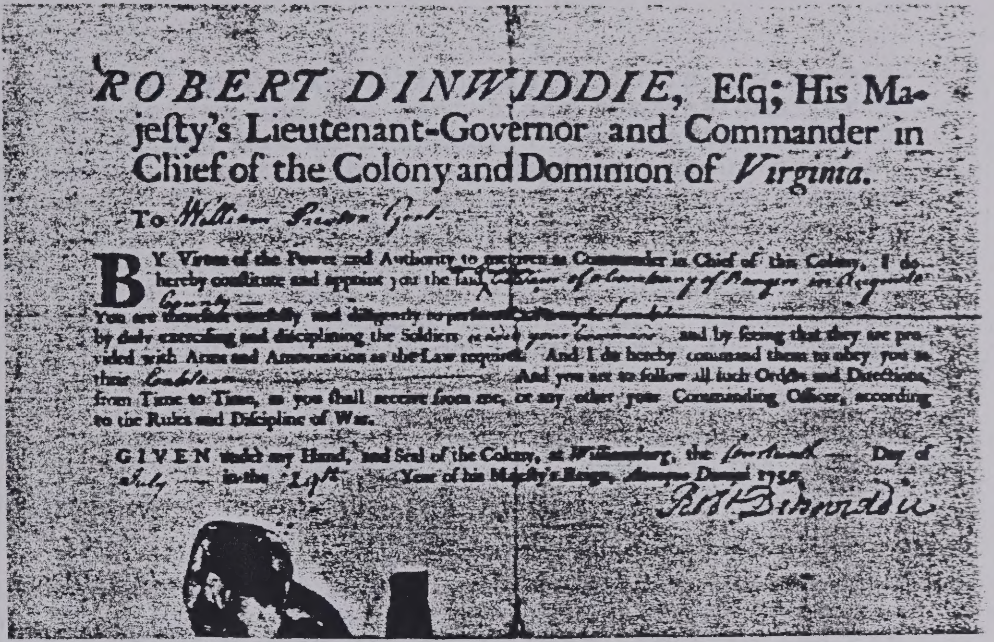
*Materials used for this chapter include
The Wilderness Road, Robert L. Kincaid, pages 57-62
History of Southwest Virginia , Lewis P. Summers, pages 60-1
and especially Kegley's Firginia Frontier, F. B. Kegley, Chapter 6 with short borrowings from a few others.





ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Eſq; His Majeſty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony and Dominion of *Virginia*.

To William Preston Gent.

BY Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given as Commander in Chief of this Colony, I do hereby conſtitute and appoint you the said Captain of a Company of Rangers in Augusta County —

You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the Duty of [illegible] by duly exerciſing and diſciplining the Soldiers under your Command and by ſeeing that they are provided with Arms and Ammunition as the Law requires. And I do hereby command them to obey you as their Captain —— And you are to follow all ſuch Orders and Directions, from Time to Time, as you ſhall receive from me, or any other your Commanding Officer, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War.

GIVEN under my Hand, and Seal of the Colony, at Williamsburg, the fourteenth — Day of July — in the 29th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, Annoque Domini 1755.

Robt Dinwiddie

Wm. Preston's Commission as Captain, 1755

Above Left -Contemporary shadow image of Major Andrew Lewis, Capt. Pearis superior in the Virginia Regiment. Above Right- Richard Pearis and the other officers, including Cherokees, received commissions identical to the one of Capt. Preston, above. Below- 1930's photograph of William Ingles' old homestead. All taken from Kegley's Virginia Frontier, Chapt. 6

The Ingles Homestead, North Fork Roanoke

At the outset of the Big Sandy Expedition, Major Lewis was commissioned to command the forces and was sent blank commissions for other officers to be filled out as necessary. He was to consult with Lt. Richard Pearis, who then became a Captain, about people to attend the Indians. There would be about 350 colonial soldiers and it probably would take no more than six weeks. Each man would carry 5-days' allowance of bread in the form of corn or wheat flour. A supply of 150 small arms, 10 lbs gunpowder, a ton of shot and 91 blankets for the Indians was sent up. Major Lewis was to arrange for clothing. Lt. William Fleming was to be surgeon.

Preston's group led off with personnel and a wagon with a ton of dried beef. He was followed closely by Capt. Peter Hogg's company. When they got to New River they marched by the camp of the Cherokees and saluted them by firing off guns, which was returned to them with great joy and a war dance followed.

Next day they heard a sermon and Major Lewis reviewed the troops. He gave Captains' Commissions to two head warriors named "Yellow Bird" and "Round O." The day they departed, Capt. Preston led off with 27 loaded pack horses. That night they got to William Sayers' (on Reed Creek?) and camped on his barn floor. The next morning he "switched" one of the soldiers for swearing, which disgusted the Indian chiefs present. Some of the Indians deserted as a result, but Lewis and Pearis found them and talked them into returning. On Sunday they marched seven miles. On Monday on their march over the mountain they lost several horses, but on Tuesday at Burke's Gardens the soldiers gathed up many potatos from the deserted fields. They afterwards crossed another mountain and Clinch River and by Saturday they reached the head of the Big Sandy and their troubles began in earnest.

Many horses gave out from frequent crossing of the swollen creeks with loads made heavy by soaking, and were left behind; but they did see signs left by enemy Indians, and thought Stalnaker and other prisoners with him had been taken that way. More signs were seen in the coal lands, but by then the troops had to be put on half rations, and the mountains closed in on them on both sides. Many horses wandered off and could not be found. The river was so deep and had to be crossed so often both man and beast almost expired and the Captain lost his fourth horse.

By then another week was gone, the men faint from hunger, no game in the mountains. A request to kill horses for food was denied. The Indians made bark canoes for themselves, and Major Lewis had a large one made for ammunition and provisions. An attempt to cross the ridges was not possible. By March 10th the men decided to desert and go home. They were too weak to fight the enemy, though by then they were near the planned destination. Some of Capt. Smith's went first. Preston disarmed some of his by force. The canoes were wrecked in the river and everything of value lost. The men had to swim for their lives.

In a last-ditch effort to save the expedition, Major Lewis had each captain call his men together to hear a speech--all who were willing to share his fate could go with him. All officers, about 25 privates, and all of the Cherokees remained. Montgomery's volunteers marched off followed by Smith's, Preston's and Dunlap's companies. Fearing a rout, the Major then ordered a retreat, realizing that so few men would be ineffective against a much superior force.

Hardships of the men during the return through trackless mountains were even more extreme. After soaking rain the weather turned bitter cold, a heavy snow fell, and their provisions were gone. Game being especially scarce in winter, they nearly starved to death. Upon reaching the present site of Warfield, they took hides of buffalo they had hung in trees on their outward march, cut them into strips (called "tugs") and boiled them to eat. That is how Tug River, now also part of the Kentucky border, got its name. By that time all military discipline was gone. Men scattered foraging for food, reaching home as best they could. Some froze or starved to death or were killed by enemy Indians who followed them on their tragic retreat. Broken and discouraged, survivors filtered back to the valley forts, biding their time for another effort at revenge.

The Great Sandy Expedition which had looked so fine on paper and so promising, using Indians against Indians, had been a big fiasco. Not a shot was fired on either side, but after that the Shawnees were even more daring with their depredations. Washington had been right--the scheme did backfire. He had warned that the Indians "were very humorsome and should be handled with great delicacy," but incidents happened in the backwoods which could have cost the friendship of the entire Cherokee nation. The warriors who had shown great discipline and much creativity in times of danger, without complaining, started home on foot, having lost their horses during the venture. Then, finding some horses running loose in the Woods on the way home (as they supposed roaming free on the range) took them for the long journey home, feeling entitled to them. After all, their own had been lost in a white man's war for which they had not even received their promised pay!*

The rough frontiersmen saw it just the opposite. One thing they hated most of all was horse thieves. Some men gave chase, killing several of the warriors, including braves of note. "The natural antagonism between the raw whites and redmen flamed into conflict. Thus at a fateful moment the allegiance of the Cherokees was put to strain. It was with difficulty that the chiefs in the Indian towns held the young braves in leash." All this in contrast with the generous incentives being offered by the French!

Up to this point all of this warfare had been going on without being official. War was formally declared by Great Britain against France on 7 May 1756, though the declaration was not known in America until late July, and later yet on the frontier. This meant that Richard Pearis, who had been commissioned a captain for purposes of the Big Sandy Expedition, was now Captain Richard Pearis of His Majesty's Armed Forces, Virginia Regiment.

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*Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History, Samuel C. Williams, page 146

This petition followed the report of the unsuccessful expedition against the Shawnees. The letter of Major Andrew Lewis, dated at Roanoke March 28th, inclosing a copy of the minutes of a council of war held at Sandy Creek on the 15th of March, reached the Governor soon after the news of the return and was presented to the house on April 6th. A committee was appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men.—Journals 1756–58, Page 356.

April 15, 1756. The committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the officers and men employed in the late expedition against the Shawnees reported that they had examined several witnesses and agreed that Major Andrew Lewis, who commanded the expedition, discharged his duty with integrity and resolution, and that the ill success thereof was entirely owing to the refractory and mutinous behavior of Captain Obadiah Woodson, John Smith and John Montgomery, who commanded the volunteers, and of the Volunteers. Whereupon it was ordered that an address be made to the Governor to desire that his Honor would be pleased to stop the pay of the said Woodson, Smith and Montgomery, and that the officers may never more be employed as officers in his Majesty's service.—Journals 1756–58, 369.

September 23, 1758. In reference to the action of the House in regard to the conduct of Captain Smith, Captain Woodson and Captain Montgomery while on the Shawnee Expedition, Captain Smith represents that he had no opportunity of clearing up his conduct at the time of the censure, being at a great distance on the Frontiers, but when he heard it, he waited on the Governor and so far satisfied him of his innocence that he was pleased to continue him in the service. He now has witnesses in town that would fully clear him of any misbehavior on that Expedition.

Upon hearing these witnesses the committee reported that the said Smith never shewed any backwardness to proceed in the Expedition or encouraged any mutiny or Desertion, but on the contrary endeavored to prevent his men from deserting, by encouraging them with the hopes of an open country being near, and that after his men had turned back, he declared he was willing to proceed on with ten men, provided the Cherokee Indians would go with him.

It was resolved that the said John Smith did not misbehave himself in the said Expedition against the Shawnee Indians, and that he ought to receive his pay.

Ordered that the committee appointed to settle the militia accounts make an allowance to the said John Smith for his pay during his service in the said Expedition.—Journals 1758–61, Pages 20 and 26.

In the case of Obediah Woodson against the House for censuring his conduct on the Shawnee Expedition, the committee came to the conclusion that the ill-success of the expedition was occasioned by the want of provisions, and that the said Woodson did not behave himself in such a manner as an officer ought to have done. October 9, 1758.—Journal 1758-61, Page 37.

An item of expense for provisions for the troops on this expedition is shown in a receipt of John Smith to John Bingeman on New River for beef.—"Received of John Bingeman 861 weight of beef for use of my company and the Cherokee Indians at 10/ per C., £4/6/3¼, and more to cash upon the same account, 18/, per me. John Smith."—Chalkley I, 486.

April 21, 1756. Richard Pearis represented that he was ordered by the Governor last September to go to the Cherokee Nation in order to bring a number of them to the assistance of this Colony; That he was there much impeded in his solicitations by the North Carolina traders, who endeavored to persuade the Indians that he only wanted them to hunt till they got deer-skins enough to pay him a debt they owed him of 2586 lbs. deer-leather; upon which, to remove all doubt, the petitioner told them he would forgive them the debt and burn his books, which he accordingly did; and thereupon 82 of their warriors marched with him and joined Major Lewis in the expedition against the Shawnees.

Upon consideration of this petition the committee which had it in charge reported that the said Richard Pearis should be allowed the sum of £100 towards reimbursing his loss.—Journals, Pages 379, 381.

John Allen represented that he accompanied Mr. Pearis to the Cherokee Nation and that he lost his horse worth eight Pistoles and that he also lately lost in the service a pair of Pistols.

Samuel Overton and James Gunn said that they were sent out upon the late intended expedition against the Shawnees and that before their return, they each of them had lost their guns and several other things of considerable value.

On information of Major Lewis there were not arms enough provided for the people that went on the expedition. Mr. Overton carried two guns that he borrowed, one of which was lost by a canoe's oversetting in crossing a river and the other was, by the direction of Major Lewis, given to an Indian Warrior.

Mr. Gunn carried with him a valuable gun which was lost.

Mr. Overton left his horse, bridle and saddle with a sick man who has not been heard of since. John Allen left his horse at Fort Frederick when he went on the Expedition and could not find him on his return.

Samuel Overton ought to be allowed £8/1/3 for his two guns and the sum of £13 for his horse, saddle and bridle.

James Gunn, the sum of £5/7/6 for his gun, and £8 for horse.

John Allen, nothing for his horse.

Alexander Mackie furnished Captain Woodson, Smith and Pearis with sundry necessaries for the expedition. He should be paid £103/14/2 for goods furnished and the hire of two wagons from John Thompson for the use of the expedition.

Even while the Expedition was going on, Dinwiddie had become disenchanted with packhorse and trader diplomacy. With cooperation from the bluebloods in the House of Burgesses, he decided to use "gentlemen of standing who should carry a handsome present" to the redmen to conclude a permanent league with them. William Byrd and Edmund Randolph were appointed commissioners. Abraham Smith was dispatched to Old Hop, inviting the headmen to meet with them on 5 March 1756 at the juncture of Pacolet and Broad Rivers, where the Lower Town and Catawba paths crossed, in the then wilderness of upper South Carolina. Smith, delayed by floods, reached Keowee on February 5th where he met Little Carpenter, dejected from a recent session with Gov. Glen and thus eager to treat with Virginians.

Old Hop the Fire King disdained meeting with anyone he considered of lower rank than his, but sent as his deputies Standing Turkey (or Conneturkee who would three years later succeed him), Oconostota the Great Warrior, Willinawaw Prince of Toquo, and others mostly from Chota, chosing to ignore most of the Lower or Middle Towns. The gathering must have been a sight to behold, with bewigged Virginia gentlemen in bright satin and lace treating with gaudily bedecked warriors.

> "Formal discussions opened March 14 with Virginia commissioners reading Dinwiddie's message to a great crescent of Indians seated on the ground against a backdrop of white-blooming shadbush and pale blue mountain ranges. Asserting the Virginia Governor's friendship and cautioning against allowing the French to build a fort in their country, it countered the Shawnee report of Six Nations neutrality with news that Mohawks had fought for the English in...the victory over the French on Lake George in upper New York Colony...there would be presents of powder and lead and great quantities of goods to be distributed before the Indians went home. All this the Cherokees greeted with a loud "Yo-hah."

Proceedings, with yards of wampum exchanged and great promises made, lasted for four days, as the recorder struggled furiously to interpret the wild-sounding names. Some informal promises must have been omitted from the finished treaty, for the Cherokees were led to believe that Dinwiddie would meet with Old Hop at Stalnaker's, for instance. They promised to build the fort Glen had as yet failed to provide. Promises of the many gifts warriors would receive if they went to help Washington's army must have been overstated--details would come back to haunt the Virginians later on.

The proceedings were a great triumph for Little Carpenter, who repeated from memory the interpreter's full rendition of the talks. He had obtained the promise of the much-desired fort and of much trade to counteract Glen's parsimony. The day Ostenaco rode in state through Williamsburg, Dinwiddie presented the Broad River Treaty to his burgesses who immediately underwrote £2000 in funds to construct the fort.

The jubilation would soon be counteracted by participants in the Big Sandy failure who, not having received rewards for their service, traveled home expecting compensation from the countryside and were shot at instead.

CHAPTER SEVEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT

While the Overhills of the Chota region were so greatly upset over the debacle following the Great Sandy Expedition, residents of the Lower Towns sensed an opportunity to contest their domination. Thus twenty braves under Seroweh "the Mankiller" of Estatoe left with Richard Pearis to fight the French on the Monongahela. That only ten additional joined Major Lewis was probably partly due to opposition from a trader named Beamer who objected to theirgoing off during hunting season owing him debts; and partly because many more accompanied Wauhatchee (or Wahachy--much more about him later) on a journey to meet new Governor Lyttelton in Charles Town where they were entertained enthusiastically and received lavish gifts. Unlike Glen, Lyttelton asked that warriors be sent to Virginia. Wauhatchee sanctimoniously stated that he had already sent a group with Seroweh, and used the occasion to badmouth the Overhills. But perhaps even he did not realize the full extent of intrigues of French John with Old Hop, or that an Overhill mission had been sent to Detroit. (Old Hop died only three months later.)

Though evidently Richard still maintained a trading house in "Augusta County" (Long Island?) his home was still at Winchester, and he would have been delighted to visit the plantation and see his relatives. It must have been during this time (early Spring 1756) that the following incident, described by George Washington, occurred. Because of the reference to Cacapehon River (see map page 3 upper left) I assumed at first that he was speaking of Richard's brother Robert, but Robert was not a local captain until that fall, and he also mentions the Big Sandy tragedy. Pearis's group fell upon a small party of Shawnees commanded by French officer Monsieur Douville whom they killed and scalped. Here are the letters. You be the judge. From - Writings of Washington by Ford, pages 300-4 and 309.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Honble. Sir; I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express (notwithstanding I hear two or three are already sent down) to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs on this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed several murders not far from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger, that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do

not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thick settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations.[14]

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawanese Town. It was an expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.[15]

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honour will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains. I am your Honor's, &c.

✓ Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,[16] who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.[17]

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their Instructions; where Orders are given to burn, if possible, our Magazine at Conogochieg, a place that is in the midst of a thick settled Country.

I have Ordered the party there, to be made as strong as time, and our present circumstances will afford,[7] for fear they should attempt to execute the Orders of Dumas. I have also ordered up an Officer and twenty Recruits to assist Joseph Edwards and the people on those waters.[8] The people of this Town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack; and all the Roads between this and Fort Cumberland, are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draught men, I hope care will be taken that none are chosen but active, resolute men—men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen. I also hope, that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our Numbers to what the Assembly design to establish; as many of those we have got are really, in a manner unfit for Duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are Draughted, should be only taken for a time: by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us.

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS

Winchester, April 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I had scarce reached Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French and Indians advancing within our settlements, and doing incredible mischief to the inhabitants, which oblig'd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everything in deep confusion, and the poor distressed inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I cou'd immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as t'was judged most likely to meet with the Enemy; one of which, under the command of Mr. Pearis, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small fort on the No. River of Cacapehon, whom they engaged, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander, Mons. Douville (killed), and three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur has, I believe, dispersd his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, tho' we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoverys.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfind are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the colonys continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

NOTES: A similar, more detailed book, Papers of George Washington by Abbott (1983) Vol 2 pp 334-7, includes Dumas' instructions to Douville, written in French with no translation. Dumas, who had participated in the ambush of Gen. Braddock, came from France in 1750 and was at that time commandant at Fort DuQuesne.

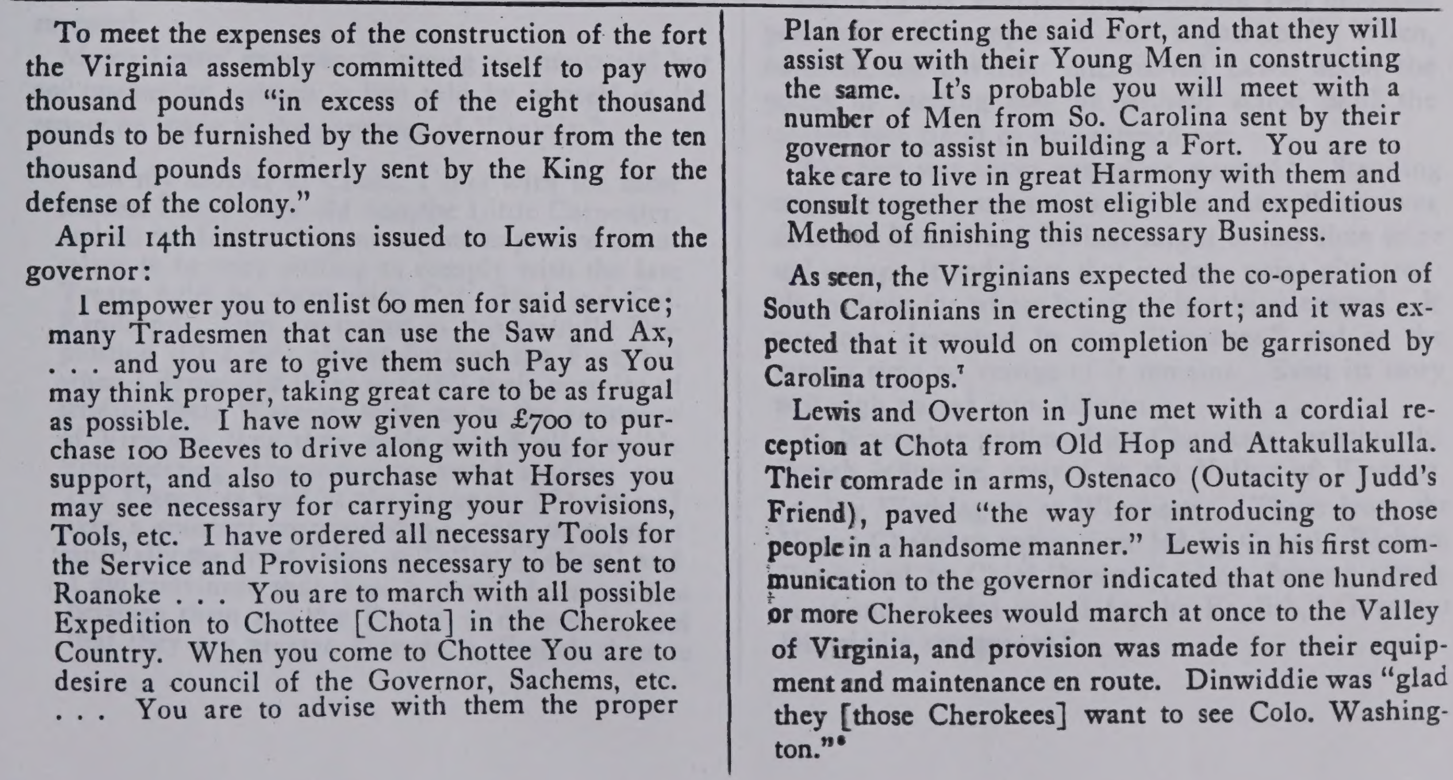
Joseph Edwards, whom Washington ordered troops to assist, lived in the Cacapon River area.

Abbott is ambivalent about the identity of the American captain, saying likely it was Richard, who had come home to Winchester with Andrew Lewis about that time, but that the Maryland Gazette article about the incident identified him as Capt. Robert Paris. Ford, compiler of Writings, identified him as "Richard Pearis, who had a trading house on the Holston, later a captain."

Richard Pearis, fluent in the Cherokee tongue and a favorite with the Indians but concerned about his relatives and all the others on the Virginia frontier was, for those very reasons, commissioned for a specific purpose - to lead the southern Indians against the northern Indians who were their traditional enemies. He had not taken the position for private gain--he lost money on the deal. The one hundred pounds reimbursement from the Virginia House of Burgesses did not even make up the loss of 2586 pounds of Deer leather due him from Indian hunters which he had waived by "burning his books" if the warriors would join him on the Big Sandy Expedition. And the shooting of the warriors by the frontiersmen over horses, resented just as much by him as by the braves, would nevertheless have turned some of them against all of the white race, including himself.

The Cherokees had for many years been pleading for a fort, garrisoned with soldiers near their capitol town of Chota, "to protect our wives and children if we should go to war." To regain their friendship, as well as to get Cherokees to serve in Col. Washington's army, the Virginia Assembly decided to appropriate two thousand pounds which, when added to part of the money the King had sent to the Governor for defense of the Colony, should be enough to erect such a fort. In April Major Lewis was selected to oversee the construction with Capt. Overton second in command. That Captain Pearis, under Major Lewis and of much service partly because he could translate, was also part of the group who went, is obvious from the content of Lewis's reports to Governor Dinwiddie.

Williams' Dawn of Tennessee, noticed before, pp. 174-183 contains an interesting summary of what went on, photocopy shown below:



To meet the expenses of the construction of the fort the Virginia assembly committed itself to pay two thousand pounds "in excess of the eight thousand pounds to be furnished by the Governour from the ten thousand pounds formerly sent by the King for the defense of the colony."

April 14th instructions issued to Lewis from the governor:

> I empower you to enlist 60 men for said service; many Tradesmen that can use the Saw and Ax, . . . and you are to give them such Pay as You may think proper, taking great care to be as frugal as possible. I have now given you £700 to purchase 100 Beeves to drive along with you for your support, and also to purchase what Horses you may see necessary for carrying your Provisions, Tools, etc. I have ordered all necessary Tools for the Service and Provisions necessary to be sent to Roanoke . . . You are to march with all possible Expedition to Chottee [Chota] in the Cherokee Country. When you come to Chottee You are to desire a council of the Governor, Sachems, etc. . . . You are to advise with them the proper Plan for erecting the said Fort, and that they will assist You with their Young Men in constructing the same. It's probable you will meet with a number of Men from So. Carolina sent by their governor to assist in building a Fort. You are to take care to live in great Harmony with them and consult together the most eligible and expeditious Method of finishing this necessary Business.

As seen, the Virginians expected the co-operation of South Carolinians in erecting the fort; and it was expected that it would on completion be garrisoned by Carolina troops.[7]

Lewis and Overton in June met with a cordial reception at Chota from Old Hop and Attakullakulla. Their comrade in arms, Ostenaco (Outacity or Judd's Friend), paved "the way for introducing to those people in a handsome manner." Lewis in his first communication to the governor indicated that one hundred or more Cherokees would march at once to the Valley of Virginia, and provision was made for their equipment and maintenance en route. Dinwiddie was "glad they [those Cherokees] want to see Colo. Washington."[8]

Major Lewis reported to Dinwiddie, July 23rd:

> I immediately set about the Work and have carried it on with great Expedition. The Fort will be extraordinary good, the Indians are highly pleased with it and it is much stronger than any they have ever saw; the Wall is four feet thick, will be nine foot high, with Stockade fixed on the Top of the Wall seven feet high; if we meet with no obstructions, I shall have it finished in twelve or fifteen days . . . I told them [the Indians] it was expected the Carolina people would Garrison it, but they would not hear of it; they said if the Carolina people built them a Fort, they might Garrison it, but should not suffer them to have Possession of the Virginia Fort . . . Enclosed Your Hon'r has a list of the Workmen and of what men Capt. [Richard] Pearis has; some of the best workmen have two Shillings per day, some others one shilling and six pence, thirty four at one shilling and three pence. . . . The Carolina People [expected to aid in building the Fort] are not yet arrived, it is my opinion will not before this Fort is finished.[9]

Elsewhere we learn that the fort was about one hundred and five feet square[10] and that it stood on the north side of the Little Tennessee about opposite and a mile from the town of Chota, the capital and city of refuge of the Overhill Cherokees.[11]

Thus we have preserved a description, in fair detail, of the first structure by men of the English-speaking race in the Tennessee country, homes of early traders excepted.

Major Lewis' experiences among the mercurial but not uncunning redmen is best told by himself in the report he made to the governor of Virginia.[12]

> On my arrival at Chota, I met with the most kindest Usage from old hop,the Little Carpenter, and all the Indians in general, and expressed themselves to be very willing to comply with the late Treaty held by them with Col. Byrd and Col. Randolph. They continued in this friendly Disposition till I had almost finished the Fort, but when I demanded them to fulfill their promise of sending their Warriors with me to the assistance of Virginia, they then made use of all possible Equivocating Arguments to avoid sending any. The French as well as the Savanahs [Shawnees] have a constant correspondence with them more especially the great Town of Tellies [Tellico] and I am convinced that there is some scheme on foot between them and the French to distress us, and that they are greater Friends to French than to the English. During the time of my stay at Chota there was a Message sent from the Nuntewes to the Little Carpenter, and also another from the Savannahs, and also from the French at Alaboma Fort. Ever since these Messages have arrived, there has been the greatest change imaginable, and the Contents of their Messages have been kept a secret from me notwithstanding their many promises to acquaint me with everything they heard or knew....

the artisans left the Overhills in August hopeful that a good number of their warriors would be sent to Colonel Washington, Lewis remaining to lead them. But when the latter arrived at Williamsburg he had only seven warriors and three women to show for his efforts.[13] A strong counter-propaganda was operating from the French at New Orleans, through Fort Toulouse in the Alabama country, the chief medium being young Chevalier Lantagnac, whose actions are to be reviewed later on.

Governor Dinwiddie had appealed to Governor Dobbs of North Carolina for financial aid in the erection of the fort which would be within the limits of North Carolina, but without avail,

The garrisoning of the fort was a problem that Dinwiddie thought South Carolina should solve, but when he learned that the southern province had determined to build its own fort near the Overhill towns, he turned to the formulation of other plans. He issued orders to Major Lewis to send in twenty-five men for that service, on the Major's return to Virginia.

The Virginia assembly appropriated two thousand pounds for the support of such a garrison.[16] When, however, the governor interviewed Lewis about the policy of sending men he witheld action until the tangled web could be straightened out.

The fort was never named or manned.[17] Standing empty it was a menace to the Cherokees themselves, since the Northward Indians might at any time seize and occupy it and from that vantage point give trouble to those for whose benefit it had been erected. It was soon destroyed by the Cherokees,[18] and at the present time no vestige of it remains. Even its story well-nigh passed into oblivion.

In November parties of the Cherokees, resisting the French influence, arrived in the Valley of Virginia, joining Washington at Winchester. Those from the Upper Cherokee region were led by Captain Richard Pearis and by Chief Ostenco[19] whose "strong attachment and faithful regard for the English," Governor Dinwiddie recognized.[20]

According to Williams, "Early in 1756 there was a plan proposed in Virginia to erect a trading house or "factory" at some point on the Holston or Little Tennessee, seemingly at the fort or on Long Island, but nothing came of it." Who was to be in charge was not stated, but since Richard remained actively involved in recruiting warriors to fight for the Colony, one may assume he felt the arrangement would be to his advantage.

Letter from Captain Andrew Lewis to Col. George Washington*

Sir: Augusta Octr the 28th 1756

I Received a Letter from Capt. Paris Deated the 21st of (thi)s Month, he tels me that he Sent for Guns and other Necessarys for the Indians with him. The Indians are highly pleased with the Arms and the Large preparations made for them the wareous proposed sending a Runar to the Nation with one of the guns, and Likewis to Aqueant them what is provided for them. he makes no Dout of a great Numbers Coming in. he would not Do any thing in the Mater Before he had my Aprobation. I approved of his Scame and has wrot to Capt Pearis to Dress the Runar as well as posable and send a white man with him which is the wareours Desire. I have wrote to Outosity and aquented him of Evry thing prov(ide)d he will publish it in that Nation if he has not Marched Before he Receivs my Letter. the Indian & white men who were apointed to go to Houlsons River is Now on thire March in Order to make the Discovery--the Enemey are Frequantly Seen Neare Vauss, what few Indians we have are there Now, in Sarch of them.

Sir as Sarjt McCully has ben in the Service from the Begining and has Behaved well, I hop Sir you will Advance him. he has been Long over Lookd. I ame Much Recovered I purpose to take my Journy for Willmsburg to Morrow or Nixt Day. I ame Sir your most obedt & very Hume Sert

Andw Lewis

Footnotes state that Lewis left Richard Pearis behind in the Cherokee country when he returned in September, but Pearis was now back in Augusta County with his party of six Cherokee men and two women. Dinwiddie wrote Pearis 14 November, and Lewis the next day, that they should conduct the eight Cherokee to Washington.

The runner referred to was John Allen, a young man who was present at the building of "Chette Fort" who, according toCaptain Raymond Demeré stationed on the South Carolina frontier, was a Virginian who came with one of the Indians that went with Capt. Pearis to Virginia. John Allen took letters to head men of the Cherokee from Capt. John McNeill and Dinwiddie as well as Lewis.

"Outosity" was Otacite Ostenaco (also called Judge's Friend) who lived at this time at Tomatly. (Map of the Cherokee country shows this to to close to Chota and Fort Loudoun.) His name was Ostenaco, though he was often called Otacite, which was actually a title

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*Papers of George Washington Vol 3,pp 445-6, W.W. Abbott, Ed.(1983)

indicating his rank. He participated in the Big Sandy expedition and also brought a party of Cherokees to Augusta in the summer of 1757. Lewis's friend, Sgt. John McCulley, was made an ensign that same summer.

Washington to Dinwiddie * 19 Dec 1756

"...Captn Pearis came to Town the other day with 6 Cherokees and two Squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his Services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there await your Honors instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence..."

and in January 1757**

"..Capt. Pearis says You have order'd his men to be continued in Pay--I wrote Majr Lewis to send them to You to be incorporated into the Regmt. I know of no Service they (mutilated) at present but it seems (mutilated) naked they could not march."

At the end of February 1757*** Pearis conducted a party of nine Cherokees down from Winchester to Williamsburg on their way back to the Cherokee country.

Presumably this last group was the party that Lewis had brought up in October, though it might have been Pearis's own party. Fairfax and the Council at this time saw another party of Cherokees, being 15 in number, who had come "to this Government' in February last, had marched two leagues above Fort DuQuesne and returned the previous Monday with a French Prisoner and two scalps. The Chief of them, named the Second Yellow-Bird, was a leader of the 150 Cherokees whom Richard Pearis had conducted to Virginia "in the fall of 1755." (Question: Were they speaking of the aftermath of the Big Sandy Expedition?)

Ever since he left Chota in the Cherokee country, Major Andrew Lewis's health had been in a depressed state, so much so that Washington was worried about him, but affairs in Augusta County were so disorganized that he was soon called into service reorganizing and combining the forces into fewer, more effective units. He called all the Captains together at Captain Peter Hogg's station (probably the reconstructed Fort Vause) to issue new commands. Washington had specified tht after this was taken care of, Captain Pearis was to proceed with Lewis to Winchester. Col. Clement Read was to garrison one of theforts in Halifax and send provisions to Winchester. Stalnacker, now escaped from the Indians, was appointed a lieutenant in one of the forts to keep him in service because he was so well acquainted with the woods and a good guide when needed.

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*Papers, cited prev. page--Vol 4 pg 65. ** ibid 105 *** ibid 119-120

In November Captain Pearis and his friend Ostenaco, who had been on the Great Sandy expedition together, led several parties of Overhill Cherokees to Winchester to join Washington, who took great pains to treat them with respect. They were especially useful as spies in western Pennsylvania where a valiant group succeeded in capturing some French at Fort Duquesne. They killed a French officer, but when the subchief leading them fell they became disorganized. The mercurial southern Indians proved to be a mixed blessing, volatile and unpredictable to the white commanders and impatient with army rules, and disliked by troopers who did not care for any Indians regardless of where they were from. Yet in spite of all this, they were deemed indispensible by Washington and others.

Part of the trouble may have been that they were placed under army leaders who did not understand their culture. It appears that at this point in time, the Virginians felt Richard was a fine man to recruit warriors but too inexperienced to act as a regular army captain in combat. Whatever the problem was, he was very sensitive to the feelings of his red brothers and influenced by their experiences, though he still felt that they (and he) were needed. But he was becoming increasingly disenchanted with Virginia's failure to use their Cherokee allies' talents in a mutually beneficial way.

He seems to have been in Southwest Virginia early in 1757, for on 31 March he carried a letter from Col. Clement Read of Halifax to Col. John Buchanan at Looney's Ferry on the James, regarding the failure of the Associates. A group of frontiersmen, inspired by Captain Vause, Stalnacker, and Morris Griffith, all of whom had escaped from the Shawnees, wanted to carry out another mission on the order of the Big Sandy expedition--except this time they would take abundant provisions, great enthusiasm, and would not fail! Col. Read, as Quartermaster, had gone so far as to ship many of the needed provisions, but then the captains got to quarreling about who should be the leader. Read was picked to oversee the election, and they chose Col. Nash; but Nash's opposition then turned on Reed, much to his chagrin. Nothing but miffed feelings came of the whole elaborate scheme, which had cost the Virginia treasury a lot of money. In another month or two Read and Pearis would be involved again in unpleasant circumstances of a different nature, as we shall see.

All this expensive bungling seems to have disgusted Richard. His Indian brothers were being called upon to fight in a white man's war in which they had no interest, except perhaps to be on the winning side when the war was over so as to stay out of trouble later. They had their own very different moral codes and religious beliefs, not the same as either the French or the English. They were risking their very lives for only a few trinkets in payment, while the Virginians blew enormous sums of money--not in winning their own war, but over inflated egos. Surely there must be a better way. He resolved on a dangerous new path which he knew would make him very unpopular in Virginia, but which he believed was right.

Had Captain Pearis realized it, he was not theonly one disgusted with inefficiency on the frontier. On Washington's completion of the inspection of western forts in November 1756, he had written to Dinwiddie about deplorable laziness and lack of discipline by men and even officers of theforts. All were terrified ofIndians, yet kept no guard at forts unless Indians were already known to be present, wasted supplies, used up precious ammunition shooting at targets for sport, "offered no assistance to unhappy settlers drove from their plantations in securing harvests or gathering the corn;" and officers, often absent on personal business though demanding full pay, refused to assist other forts in time of emergency. Changes would come, though to late to help him. That spring of 1757 he was hired to meet arriving Cherokees at the border and escort them to Washington's Army.

Realizing his life was in danger, Richard decided, in lieu of a will, to arrange for doweries for his young daughters, of whom he was very fond. Virginia law was then such that should he die his son(s) would inherit the plantation with a 1/3 dower going to Rhoda, and brother Robert could be counted on to lend assistance or advice, but he wanted to avoid possible complications and see to it that the little girls, growing as fast as wildflowers, should be able to have nice husbands when the time came--though he did intend to be around to supervise if he could. He consulted his good friend Captain Peter Hogg, to take care of the legalities.* Meanwhile he sat down with his arms around thelittle girls and explained it all to them, and gave them copies, and also stressed nice young ladies should be satisfied with only fine young men their Papa would approve of. Reading the list, it appears as though our Sarah was already a good rider, and that she got to make some choices, also that the young slave was named for her. Suitable choices were made for little Margaret. Official record follows**

Augusta County Deed Book 7 page 450, 16 April 1757 (Abstract)
Captain Richard Pearis of Augusta County--money, a deed of gift for love and goodwill and affection to my daughters, Sarah Pearis and Margaret Pearis.
To Sarah forever incase said Sarah marrys with my consent or according to my will,
1 negro wench called Sarah
1 sorrel mare & year old colt, "natural pacers"
1 bay horse, natural pacer
1 roan mare and colt, both trotters
1 roan colt three years old, other horses also
To Margaret on same conditions,
Hannah, Craig, Pratchey
3 or 4 horses
Of these presents I have given my inventory signed by my own hand to my daughters, etc. Recorded 16 June 1757
Recorded delivered: Captain Peter Hog, December 1770.

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*Annals of Augusta County by Waddell, pg 102, says Peter Hogg was born and educated in Scotland (b.1703) and settled in Augusta about 1745 as did his brothers James andThomas. Whether he was related to the Hoges of Winchester, also of Scotland is not stated. He married Elizabeth Taylor, and became a noted lawyer.

**Chronicles of Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from Original Court Records ofAugusta County, Virginia, by Lyman Chalkey (1980) GPC

According to Chalkey's version of the deed book entry, the daughters were also gifted with money, signified by inclusion of a pound sign (£) in addition to the slaves and horses, but the amount was unspecified. The most amazing extra notation was that Pratchey, given to Margaret, was an Indian wench! Pratchey could not have been Cherokee--was she a captured member of an enemy tribe? My instinct says probably a part-black descendant of one such, but I could easily be wrong. Since in those days some wealthier Cherokees owned several slaves, that may be where she came from.

Some years later when, to clear the record, Captain Peter Hogg told the court that the presents had been delivered (probably long before he appeared in 1770) the Pearis family was already living in upper South Carolina--that is, Richard, Rhoda, three sons, and two younger daughters. We have not learned whom Margaret married nor exactly when, but would guess it was probably in Virginia in the 1760's, and I've often wondered whether in later years Margaret lived near Sarah but that we do not realize it because we don't know whom she married.

The Teter Family details more about the life of Sarah and her husband, Sgt. George Teter, so that will not be repeated here in detail. They were married in March 1762 and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. In 1768 they bought a nice small farm on Crab Creek where it empties into New River near present Radford, but sold it three years later to move to a plantation several miles NE of present Abingdon while that was still part of the frontier, where George became an ensign in the local militia. Soon, though ttere was a perilous war going on in the Kentucky bluegrass area, George became eligible for a military land grant for his service in the French & Indian War and decided to take advantage of it before the best land was all taken. Despite the fact that Sarah was very pregnant with their fifth and last child, they left during what turned out to be oneof the most frigid winters in history--1779/80. Though they were fired upon just beyond the Cumberland Gap and George was wounded, they made it safe to one of the forts of Gen. George Rogers Clark, on Clark's Run just east of present Danville KY. The Kentucky River was solid ice and starving people had the influenza, but once settled thefamily prospered. Our descent is from their only daughter, Sarah (Sally) Teter, who married Samuel Griffith from North Carolina who was either a nephew or son of Jonas Griffith, mentioned in the Pepper Family sketch on page 12.

After arranging his daughters' doweries, Captain Pearis set off to the Carolina border to meet Cherokees arriving, mostly from the Lower Towns, to assist Washington's army. Unfortunately they showed up too far to the east, expecting a lavish welcome and many gifts just as soon they got there. Disappointed outraged Indians misbehaved badly and got him into a quandry, to put it mildly. Had he reproved them, they would have turned on their heels and been lost as allies. On the other hand, he understood why they were unhappy. In trying to defend the Cherokees Richard has in many histories been dubbed as a "mercenary scamp who attempted to rake in shekels." That is far from the truth, of course, for he stood to lose all his military back pay, not to mention the mostly unrecouped loss for "burning his books" a couple of years before.*

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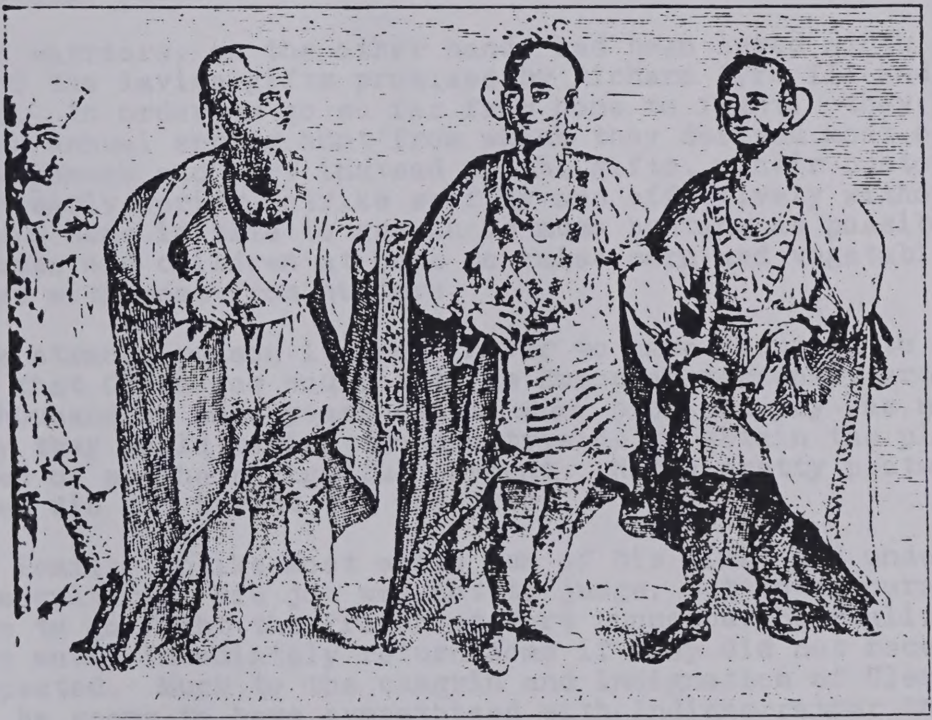
*This is getting ahead of the story, but 2 years later, after he had served in Gen. Forbes' victorious army, the VA Assembly voted to give £81/18/0 to Richard Pearis, Frederick County, Captain of the Cherokees--Kellogg's Virginia Frontier, pg 255.

One could write a whole book about South Carolina Indian relations, and some people have, including the story of Captain Raymond Demere and the building of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee to replace the empty Virginia fort. Obviously there is not space for that here. Suffice it to say that dissention continued between the Overhills under Little Carpenter's influence and those in the Lower Towns across the mountains. Though Governor Lyttelton encouraged warriors to go to Virginia, the Overhills demurred, though Little Carpenter did set off down the Tennessee to waylay French bateaux on the Ohio and the Mississippi. Shortly thereafter Oconostota joined in with the main force. Even Seroweh the Mankiller who had earlier been with Richard Pearis now drifted toward the Ohio against the Twightwees.

Ostenaco, who had promised to aid Virginia, went with a smaller party, as did some tribesmen from Chilhowee and Telassie under Youghtanno. More will be told of them. They were still waiting for the great and bountiful trade which ambassadors had promised and which did not materialize. It was partly through spite that Lower Town warriors under Wahatchy appeared in Virginia the next spring.



Above: Copy of British Museum portrait of three Cherokee chiefs who visited London in 1762. Shown are a cutoff portion of the image of their interpreter who was poisoned and died while still at sea and did not actually appear with them, then Seroweh the Mankiller, Ostenaco the Great Warrior, and Uschesees ye Great Hunter not otherwise mentioned in this book. Oriental features are quite apparent in this rendition.

CHAPTER EIGHT - RICHARD GETS IN TROUBLE DEFENDING CHEROKEES

Events of this chapter are not easy to relate because so much was going on at once. Hopefully the most effective way is to present the contents of letters and records of some of those involved, though many will sound a little bizarre by today's standards. We must remember that our Colonial ancestors, living in much different circumstances, had much different attitudes. Population was for the most part concentrated on the seacoast or on rivers leading there, the Virginia Valley being an exception. Keep in mind that each colony had been created at a separate time, by a leader(s) with quite divergent ideas about religion as well as how to govern, and in competition with the one next to it. Virtually no roads had been built connecting most of them in 1750, so travel andtrade was primarily by water, and more of it with the mother country than with each other. All considered themselves Englishmen, even if born in Ireland or even Germany since all owed allegiance to the English crown. Though they hoped to coax southern Indians allies to fight the French Indians on the Monongahela as a patriotic duty, at as small a price and as unobtrusively as possible, in this extremely class-conscious society blue-blooded self-righteous colonial gentleman leaders regarded the redmen as a much inferior race.

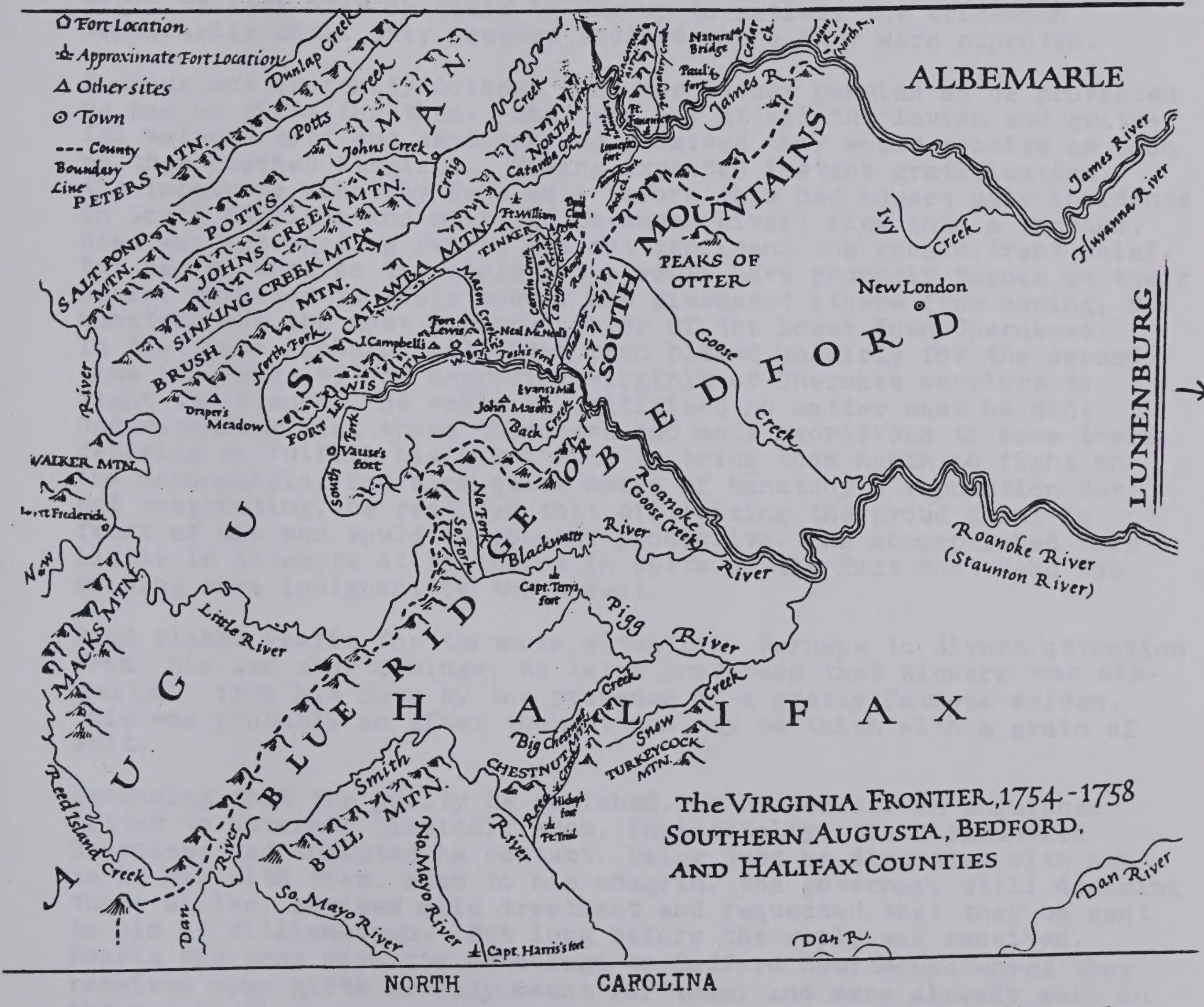
Cherokee warriors, on the other hand, had been lured north in expectation of the lavish gifts promised by Richard Byrd III and Edmund Randolph. In order to go so far from home to fight, they had to forgo the annual spring hunt from which they derived most of their living expenses and rely instead on the gifts. Their custom was to leave in early spring, strike swiftly and effectively without warning, and return home in time to get in as much hunting as possible, leaving their women and children at home to raise corn and vegetables, supplemented with meat from hunters.

For some strange reason it seems never to have occurred to to colonial leaders that Cherokees would act, as European mercenary armies had done for a thousand or more years--that when promised pay was not received promptly they would ravish the countryside to obtain the plunder they conceived of as their rightful payment. Not a pretty picture--but Cherokees did not invent the practice.

Richard Pearis, unlike most white men of his time, did understand Cherokee culture. His job was not to judge, but to encourage Indian warriors to go fight the French at Fort Duquesne. He realized these warriors would immediately return home if they did not receive what they expected. Much to the chagrin and indignation of Clement Reade's people, he seems to have sympathized with Indians rather than whites. It should be emphasized that, as a Virginian, Richard had no authority in North Carolina, and that his job was to meet his charges at the border and guide them north. Wahachy's large group was from the Lower Towns; their route was not across mountains as that of the Overhills would have been, and the route they took was farther east than anticipated. It is unclear whether Richard realized that supplies were awaiting them at Bedford, farther to the west. The group arrived at Lunenburg, where Col. Clement Reade was in charge instead.

Though designed to show frontier forts, this little map will give you some idea of where encounters with angry Cherokees occurred. Little of the then enormous Augusta County is shown, its Eastern boundary being the Blue Ridge. Bedford and Halifax Counties were separated by Blackwater & Staunton Rivers.

Lunenburg Courthouse where Wahatchy's group created such a stir, is a little east of where the map ends, but this indicates where it was. Another incident, described later in this chapter, took place near the banks of the Staunton River--in which a group of frontiersmen including "Old Mr. Verdiman aged about 60" confronted a band of Cherokees posing as Shawnese.


Fort Location
Approximate Fort Location
Other sites
Town
--- County Boundary Line
Dunlap Creek
Potts Creek
Johns Creek
PETERS MTN.
POTTS MTN.
JOHNS CREEK MTN.
SALT POND MTN.
SINKING CREEK MTN.
BRUSH MTN.
CATAWBA MTN.
TINKER
NORTH MTN.
Catawba Creek
Craig Creek
Creek
Natural Bridge
Cedar Ck.
Paul's fort
James R.
North R.
Ft. Fauquier
Looney's fort
Purgatory Creek
Ft. William
Carvin Creek
Tinker Creek
Buffalo Creek
Mason Creek
Fort Lewis
Neal McNeal's
J. Campbell's
Tosh's fort
North Fork
Evans's Mill
John Mason's
Back Creek
Draper's Meadow
FORT LEWIS MTN.
South Fork
Vause's fort
River
New River
WALKER MTN.
Fort Frederick
MACKS MTN.
Little River
Reed Island Creek
Dan River
AUGUSTA
BLUE RIDGE
SOUTH MOUNTAINS
PEAKS OF OTTER
ALBEMARLE
James River
Fluvanna River
Ivy Creek
New London
BEDFORD
Goose Creek
Roanoke (Goose Creek) River
Blackwater River
No. Fork
So. Fork
Capt. Terry's fort
Pigg River
LUNENBURG
Roanoke River (Staunton River)
HALIFAX
Big Chestnut Creek
CHESTNUT MTN.
Snow Creek
TURKEYCOCK MTN.
Smith River
BULL MTN.
Reed Creek
Hickey's fort
Ft. Trial
So. Mayo River
No. Mayo River
Capt. Harris's fort
Dan R.
Dan River
NORTH CAROLINA

The VIRGINIA FRONTIER, 1754-1758
SOUTHERN AUGUSTA, BEDFORD, AND HALIFAX COUNTIES

Map from inside front cover of George Washington, A Biography, Vol. 2, by Douglas Southall Freeman (Scribner-1948)

Note: Perhaps Wahatchy's group followed the Occaneechi Path to the Dan & Staunton River juncture (See map page 111). It would have led to Lunenburg.

The number of warriors, including several from Estatoe under Swallow Warrior, came to 128, too many to be easily managed by two white men if in a disagreeable mood. The two were Richard Smith as interpreter and Virginia Captain Richard Pearis, under orders to meet them at the border and accompany them to Winchester to be utilized by Washington's army. Nobody expected them to show up that far east, thus considerably lengthening the route; but when they did so Richard undoubtedly hoped to make the best of a difficult situation by pacifying them temporarily, remembering that very recently Col. Clement Read, Lunenburg chief justice, had served as quartermaster by providing ample supplies, now unused, for the now aborted expedition of the Associators (see page 63). Pearis evidently imagined or hoped that something might be left over or could be dug up to satisfy the tribesmen temporarily until they reached Bedford where they were expected.

Pompous and crotchety Colonel Read was rather peevish as he protested he had no gifts for them. That was not at all the lavish and grateful welcome Byrd and Randolph had promised they would receive as soon as they reached Virginia. Having expected instant gratification, the impetuous Wahatchy (who well before this had caused ugly incidents in South Carolina and near the Savannah River) flew into a rampage. Read was outraged as Pearis did not reprimand the recalcitrant chief, but had he done so the whole group would have promptly turned on their heels, returned to their towns, and dissuaded others from coming, for Wahatchy was the most powerful ruler of the Lower Town Cherokees. In that case Richard would have been blamed unfairly for the second time (see page 49) of depriving Virginia of Cherokee warriors to fight the French. He would be criticized no matter what he did! Understanding that these Cherokees had made sacrifices to come there, desiring to fulfill his commitment to bring them north to fight on the Monongahela, and also quite aware of Wahatchy's reputation for not cooperating, he realized that criticizing the proud chief in front of his men would be counter-productive. He accomplished very little in attempts at restraint in spite of the fact that Read was growing more indignant by the moment.

Read blamed Pearis for the whole situation. Perhaps to divert attention from his own shortcomings, he later pretended that Richard was distracted from his duty by the presence of a pretty Catawba maiden. This was probably an after thought and may be taken with a grain of salt.

Demanding that the guilty be punished, he dashed off an anguished letter to Governor Dinwiddie whom, incidentally, the disgruntled Cherokees had insisted he contact, being just as disgusted with him as he was with them. Much to his chagrin, the governor, still desiring those allies, advised mild treatment and requested that they be sent to him at Williamstown. But long before the reply was received, Pearis had gone with the entourage to Bedford Courthouse where they received some gifts already meant for them, and were already well on the way to Winchester where Read, hoping to rid himself of them, had suggested they would receive many presents--thus creating a big problem in Winchester, where Mercer and Washington had nothing to give them.

According to Read the Indians behaved barbarically and terrified him and his family into living almost as slaves while they were there. He did not dare refuse to pen an insolent letter to Dinwiddie on their behalf. But believing they could not read what he wrote, he tossed in a few of his own views. Part of the letter follows:

> "Wawhatchee further ordered me not to fail to inform you that the presents wrote for he expected would be sent up to Winchester soon, and he made me promise that they should, and seeing that I have promised it and the appearance of the Indians at my house... equipped for war when I had only five white men and ten negroes at home and unprepared would have made Alexander the Great have promised it...For, sir, the evening before they had their grand council they tomahawked, ripped up the bowels, and scalped a fellow in the yard*...they gave me leave to bury him after which myself and the whole family behaved with the greatest order and decorum towards them, granted them all they asked and yielded to every demand.. However by our passive obedience and non-resistance after their eating and destroying 1000 lb. of pork and bread and meat in proportion in about 30 hours they were persuaded to march toward Bedford Court House for their presents. But in their way, following the practice and lewd example of their leader, two of them ravished a girl of about 12 or 13 years old they met on the road five or six miles from my house and tore her in a manner too indecent to mention and visited every plantation within three or four miles of the road plundering the plantations and frightening the inhabitants...in short, sir, they acted like freebooters in an enemy country and on our court day in the morning...crowds of people came to my house and solicited me to do something...they appeared enraged and ready to take up arms...At Lunenburg Court House the Indians mutinied and they were for returning (back home). Smith prevailed upon them to stay there until I could be sent for. I went and pacified them. I prevailed on them to consent to go to Winchester to Colonel Washington where they should have the presents, they should be provided for according to treaty, should be well used."

*The fellow in the yard which they tomahawked before the council meeting was a Chickasaw, a tribe which was traditionally enemy, but whom they occasionally teamed up with when fighting a more hated tribe. They evidently were outraged because he advised more moderate behavior. It is very likely that Read exaggerated, as did upset dwellers in the looted plantations, but there is no doubt that the Cherokees behaved in a deplorable manner, acting more like warriors in battle than desirable allies. Probably too much alcohol was consumed by some of them. It is no secret that Indians craved alcohol but lacked control when they consumed it.

If this Chief Wahatchy were to create even half as much fear in the minds of the Shawnees as they had in the small farmers in Lunenburg County they would become of inestimable value to the Army but first, thanks to Colonel Read's promise of gifts at Winchester, they would cause another big stir.

Winchester, of course, was west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The usual way from there to Carolina was to follow the Valley to the Roanoke River where, to the east for a short distance a gentle slope constituted a mountain gap. Those wishing to go south could proceed that way. The others could continue on down the Valley. The crossing-place was considerably west of Bedford Courthouse. Whether they took the usual route was not stated, but Indians were used to rugged terrain. At any rate, when they got to Winchester Colonel Washington, not having received timely notice of their impending arrival, was not at Fort Loudoun to greet them, having left his deputy, Captain George Mercer, in charge. The young man, almost distraut and wanting to do the right thing, had nothing to offer them.*

> "Angry, Wawhatchee refused the wampum Mercer held out at the end of his talk and stalked away, leaving Swallow Warrior to bully the Captain and threaten Cherokee desertion to the French. Mercer, risking everything upon his own word, urged them again to take the wampum and promised they would have presents when they returned from war. Swallow quieted and said that he personally did not want anything but that his men had followed him because he had promised presents, and he was angry that the Governorhad made a liar of him amongst his own men.
>
> "Wawhatchee strode about Winchester demanding that Dinwiddie himself come to the frontier to appease him. Mercer, almost frantic with fear that the whole Cherokee nation would go over to the French, lifting English scalps on the way, wrote Washington urging him to send presents immediately. But presents were not to be had. Everything at Bedford had been given out; and Sir William Johnson had bought forthe use of his Northern Department the Ohio Company's entire supply of Indian goods stored at Cresap's farther west on the frontier. Confronted with Mercer's pleas, the Virginia Council relayed them to the Burgesses, which had already been complaining of the cost of Indian presents. The Council also appealed to the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern Department, Edmund Atkin, to travel to Winchester.
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> "Cherokees continued to arrive at the frontier base. But despite their disappointment they did not intend to give up the war. Leaving Mercer to make good his promises, they separated into two main parties to go against the French. Eighty gunmen with Richard Smith as interpreter, accompanied Major Lewis up the Potomac to Fort Cumberland. The others, including Youghtanno's Overhills from Chilhowee and Telassie, followed Wawhatchee and Pearis farther north, ostensibly to track enemy marauders."

Part of Captain Mercer's letter to Washington follows:

Dear Sir Fort Loudoun (VA) April 24th 1757

Thursday and Friday last came to Town 148 Cherokees with Major Lewis, and yesterday I spoke to them, as they did not chuse an Interview sooner.

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*Cherokee Frontier by Corkran, prev. cited, pages 117-8

Wauhatchee the Head Warriour, after I had told him among many other things, that I was sorry we had not timely Notice of their Coming, that the Governour would have ordered the necessary presents for them, but they might depend upon everything they could want at their Return, would not accept the Wampum I offered him, as is usual, at the end of the Speech; but immediately got up, and went out of the Council in a great passion, and told the rest of the Warriours they might speak to me, if they had anything to say. This Behaviour gave me great Uneasiness, which was not a little increased, when the Swallow, after a long Silence, made the Speech which I inclose.

From this you may see that their Journey here had almost produced a Revolt of the whole Nation from our Interest, which would have been as certain, as their Return Home dissatisfied; for they are all wavering, and only wait to see how these are received. They make no secret of this, and told me the Govr knew not how to treat Indians; that the French treated them always like Children, and gave them what Goods they wanted. As to the Governour's not having timely Notice of their Coming, it was a Lie, he had promised them 18 Months ago, if they would come here to fight for us, they should be supplied with every thing they wanted., that they then promised they would come, and he should have everything ready; and had he not depended upon their Promise, and thought that a Warning, that they had wrote to him from their Nation ..Wahachy said, "the great men of Virginia are all liars."...(Mercer's letter is long. He recommends a truly proper gift be presented otherwise-----)
If these Indians go home dissatisfied, we lose the Interest of the whole Nation. You can better suggest than I direct (did I presume to do it) what is necessary on this Occasion.....Go. Mercer

Swallow Warrior, referred to above, was first warrior in the Lower Town of Estatoe. Part of his letter which Mercer had enclosed declared, "I don't understand writing, but got a man to write a Letter for me to the Governor to acquaint him what things I had promised my young Men to engage them to come up with me, and expected to have found everything I mentioned ready for us. Brother, we blame the Govr. and not you. What you have, you are free of; and it looks to me the Govr. has little regard for you that are in the back Settlements." It is getting ahead of the story and does not directly concern Richard Pearis, but I believe the reader would be interested in the fate of the brave and noble Swallow Warrior: *

While Wawhatchee wrestled with Atkin in Winchester, Swallow Warrior's band defended Virginia's western frontier. It worked in two groups: one under Andrew Lewis on the South Branch, the other operating from Fort Cumberland into the forests toward Fort Duquesne. The former went out about May 19 with Richard Smith as interpreter. Consisting of fifty soldiers and fifty Indians, it surprised enemies marching toward Virginia and took five scalps and nineteen prisoners. On June 10 the party returned to Winchester.

Swallow Warrior's Cherokees, in two parties of fifteen each, operated sometimes on their own and sometimes with the Virginians. Near the end of May the Swallow Warrior and Lieutenant Baker with fifteen Indians and five whites scouted from Fort Cumberland toward the forks of the Ohio. On June 5 in the forest near the head of Turtle Creek about twenty miles from Fort Duquesne, as the Cherokees followed an enemy track toward Pennsylvania, their foremost warrior saw a ten-man French patrol coming down the path. The Indians ducked below the bushes to await the near approach of the enemy. The patrol advanced to within fifty paces before its leader saw the motionless Indians and called out a challenge. Volleyed rifle fire roared the answer. Four Frenchmen fell: but the others stood their ground, shooting desperately. Not waiting to reload, the Cherokees threw down their guns and rushed in with knives and tomahawks. In the French fire the two foremost Indians fell, Swallow Warrior in the act of leaping upon a fallen enemy to take a

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*ibid, pages 124-5

scalp, and his son following close upon him. The Indian onslaught swept by them, and the Frenchmen broke and ran. Two were seized before the Indians realized they had lost their leader. In a rage they tomahawked one of the captives and a wounded Frenchman struggling to rise. Then hastily concealing the Swallow Warrior's body, they scalped the dead Frenchmen; and, with one of their number carrying the Swallow Warrior's wounded son on his back, they hurried their lone prisoner back to Fort Cumberland.[19] He was Ensign Belestre, later instrumental in fomenting hatred of the English in Lower Towns Estatoe.

The second party, Lieutenant Spotswood commanding, had bad luck. Scouting almost to Fort Duquesne, on June 8 its Cherokees sighted what they believed to be tracks of a major assault against the settlements. They reported by runner to Fort Cumberland that several hundred of the enemy with cannons and wagons approached.[20] Tremors of apprehension reached even the tidewater; but the alarm proved false. A day or two later Cherokees took a scalp within one hundred yards of Fort Duquesne. With these episodes Spotswood's party disappeared in the dark of the Allegheny forests. Weeks later two Cherokees came into Pennsylvania's Fort Lyttelton with the grim report that Spotswood, hard pressed, had ordered his party to disband, each man to look out for himself.[21] He was never heard from again.

The party once headed by Swallow Warrior was incorporated into the band with Andrew Lewis under the leadership of Swallow Warrior's nephew, Seroweh, the Mankiller of Estatoe.[22] Since their arrival in Virginia they had lost thirty warriors, some by illness and wounds, but fifteen by death. It was a near disaster as Indians reckoned loss.

Rest in peace, brave Swallow Warrior and brave Spotswood. Too soon has our country forgotten how much it owes to you! Meanwhile, Richard Pearis, desiring also to save his country, had to do some swift creative thinking. It seemed to him obvious that when the Virginia gift finally arrived it would not be enough to placate Wahatchy, who potentially held the key to winning or losing the war. Should he become angry enough to defect to the French, it was quite likely this powerful chief could influence the entire Cherokee Nation to fight the English--the Overhills were already leaning that way. On the other hand, perhaps other hard-pressed colonies to the north would come up with sufficient presents. There was another consideration as well, for though he probably did not realize that Dinwiddie had already given new Supt. Atkin authority to fire him, being no fool he realized that the outraged Col. Read's complaints to the governor would place his job in jeopardy. So, while the presents were being scrounged up, and without authority, he took Wahatchy and Youghtanno's combined forces across the Potomac where they collected some enemy scalps. Then on 29 April 1757 they arrived at Fort Frederick, Maryland, where they were greeted by a delighted Captain Beale. That Colony also needed Indian allies, and he soon reached an understanding with Pearis and the Indians. Wahatchy composed a letter, shown on next page, to Governor Sharpe indicating a willingness to serve Maryland and an expectation of presents for what they had already done on Maryland soil. Then, without waiting for Sharpe's reply, Pearis, the Cherokees, and some Maryland troops under command of Lt. Shelby left the fort to go toward the Forks of the Ohio. Virginia's auxiliaries had for the time being become Maryland's.*

The mixed force conducted a successful operation. Two weeks out and well over "Allegheny Mountain," they picked up an enemy track and followed it for two days. On the morning of May 13 near Reastown their scouts sighted fifteen or sixteen Delawares and Shawnees squatted about their breakfast fire. Swiftly the soldiers and Cherokees disposed themselves for the attack. At a given signal the provincials fired and the Cherokees raced in. Four enemies fell and the others ran into the laurels pursued by Cherokees who dragged down two of them. Shelby leaped upon a wounded warrior, the notorious "Beaver's Son," struggling to rise. As the white man fought to fasten thongs upon the Indian's hands, the Delaware, crying "Kill away, kill away," died.[10] It was the kind of attack Indians liked: surprise and victory with scalps and prisoners but no loss to themselves.

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*Ibid, pages 118-9

From the Assembly Proceedings below and the negotiations shown on the following pages, it really does seem as though Maryland governor Horatio Sharpe was at first pleased to have the services of these Cherokees, but after he got Atkin's letter he was loathe to offend the Virginians by not cooperating--and that had Wahatchy not been offended by the pittance being offered for his warriors' services, he might have made a good ally.

On Motion, Resolved, That this House do not proceed on any new Business of any Kind this Session after this Day.

On Motion, the Question was put, That the Governor's Accounts, relating to his Expences on Two Journeys to the Northward, be Referred to the Consideration of next Session of Assembly. Resolved in the Affirmative.

His Excellency the Governor communicates to Mr. Speaker the following Message, viz.[1]

Gentlemen of the Lower House of Assembly,

Inclosed you have a Letter or Message, which has been sent to me by some Cherokee Indians, who, upon an Invitation given them last Year by Governor Dinwiddie, have declared in our Favour, and are determined, if they meet with proper Encouragement, to act in Conjunction with our Troops against the French and their savage Allies. As you all know how useful Indians are to the Party whose Cause they espouse, and how formidable to those against whom they wage War, I shall not enlarge on the Services that these People may do us at this Time, not doubting but you will agree with me on the Expediency of securing them in our Interest, and enable me to send them an agreeable Answer, by accompanying it with a Present. I presume you will think, that the least Thing we can do for them, during their Stay on our Frontiers, is to have them supplied with Victuals and such Necessaries as they may stand in Need of: And as Mr. Ross has already delivered Provisions to Sixty-two of these People, who are at Fort Frederick, in Confidence that such a Step would meet with our Approbation, I hope you will provide for his being paid for the same.

5th May, 1757. Hor^{o}. Sharpe.

And the following Letters or Messages, viz.[1]

To the Governor of Maryland.

Fort Frederick, April 29, 1757.

Brother of Maryland,

This Day came into your Province, with a Company of our Nation, on our Way to War against the French Shawanese, and all their Indians, hearing they had kill'd some of our Brothers, not knowing when we set off from Winchester but the Murder was committed in Virginia; but coming to this Fort, found we were in another Province; and on being informed by Capt. Beall, that our Brother, the Governor of this Province, had a real Love for our Nation, and that he had provided Cloaths for our Nation, tho' unacquainted with us, I have just now held a Council with my young Warriors, and has concluded to write to you, to acquaint you, our Brother, our Design of coming into this Country was hearing from our good Brother, the Governor of Virginia, that it was the Desire of our Father King George, that we would join the English in War against the French and their Indians. On hearing this News, we immediately took up the Hatchet against the French and their Indians, and hold it fast till we make use of it, which I expect will be in a few Days. We intend to set out immediately from this Fort, and immediately on our Return expect to meet you our Brother here, to make ourselves acquainted with you. If you can't come yourself, you will send one of your beloved Men with your Talk, which we will look upon as from your own Mouth. I hope you will let the Province of Pennsylvania know, that I am come this Length to War, and if they are in Need of our Assistance, I have Men plenty at home, and will not think it troublesome to come and fight for our Brothers. I set off from home with 150 Men, Part of which is gone to Fort Cumberland, Forty more by this is come to Winchester. Our People will be so frequent among you, that I wish you may not think us troublesome. Our Hearts ache to see our Brothers Bones scattered about the Country; but you will hear in a short Time we have got Satisfaction for our Brothers; and in Confirmation of what I have spoke, I have sent you these few white Beads to confirm my Regard to this Province: Likewise I have sent you these black Beads to convince you, that I have taken up the Hatchet against all the English Enemies. We intend to stay as long amongst our Brothers as there is Use of us. I hope our good Brother will not be backward in providing Necessaries for us. I have sent you a List of what is useful for us; and has got our good Friend Mr. Ross to carry this Letter to you, which we shall always acknowledge as a particular Friend to us. As we expect to see you soon, we will add no more at present; but remain

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⁓ of Keeway.
Mark.

This is the Truth, taken from the Head Warrior.

Richard Pearis.

To the Catawbas.

Brothers,

Yesterday I came to Fort Frederick, and this Morning I received an Account of your bad Success at War last Winter when you went out; you lost all your White Men, now I understand you have lost Seven more, which I look upon you ought not to rest long till you go again, and have Satisfaction. I am informed you are going home but I desire, as you are like my own People, that you may not go home till we have Revenge for our Brothers the English. I expect in a few Days to overtake the Party of Enemy that has committed the Murders here: They kill'd 9 White Men since they kill'd the Jacks. The next News I expect to acquaint you with, that we have got Satisfaction for the Murders they have committed; and will join you, with the rest of my People, as soon as possible. I remain,

Your loving Brother,
his
Wahachy ⁓ of Keeway.
Mark.

Which were severally Read, and Ordered to lie on the Table.

Archives of Maryland -Lower House Journal, Liber #48 pp. 429-431

In answer, the governor sent with his commissioners, Messrs. Ridout and Wolstenholme, a wagon-load of presents, and also the sum of £100, which had been voted by the Assembly for the purpose of securing the services of the Cherokees. A much larger sum had been voted some time before, but the appropriation had been expended in raising, equipping, and paying five hundred men for the defence of the frontier. However, as the Cherokees had killed four hostile Indians while waiting for his answer, the governor had to furnish £200 worth of goods in payment for their scalps.

The letter relating the adventure of the two young envoys gives a vivid picture of the manners and customs that then prevailed in dealing with the red man.

'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'Sir,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People, and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message
from Governor Denny to the C
Officers of the Maryland and
also present) we addressed ours
saying that We were come thi
We were about to deliver y
their message which answer C
to them, and then we proceede

'"Brother Wahachey of K
Cherokee Nation. I have rece
sent by Mr. Ross to advise me
Frederick, I rejoice at your a
by this String of Wampum [g
of your Fame and your good
your Brother of Virginia and
great desire to see you, but i
come I am unable to meet y
I hope you will excuse me sin
holme and Mr. Ridout to com
you. I have appointed them
have a particular regard for
fident they will deliver my w
my name and on behalf of the
league with you which I hope
and Moon shall endure, to c
Belt of Wampum [gave a Bel
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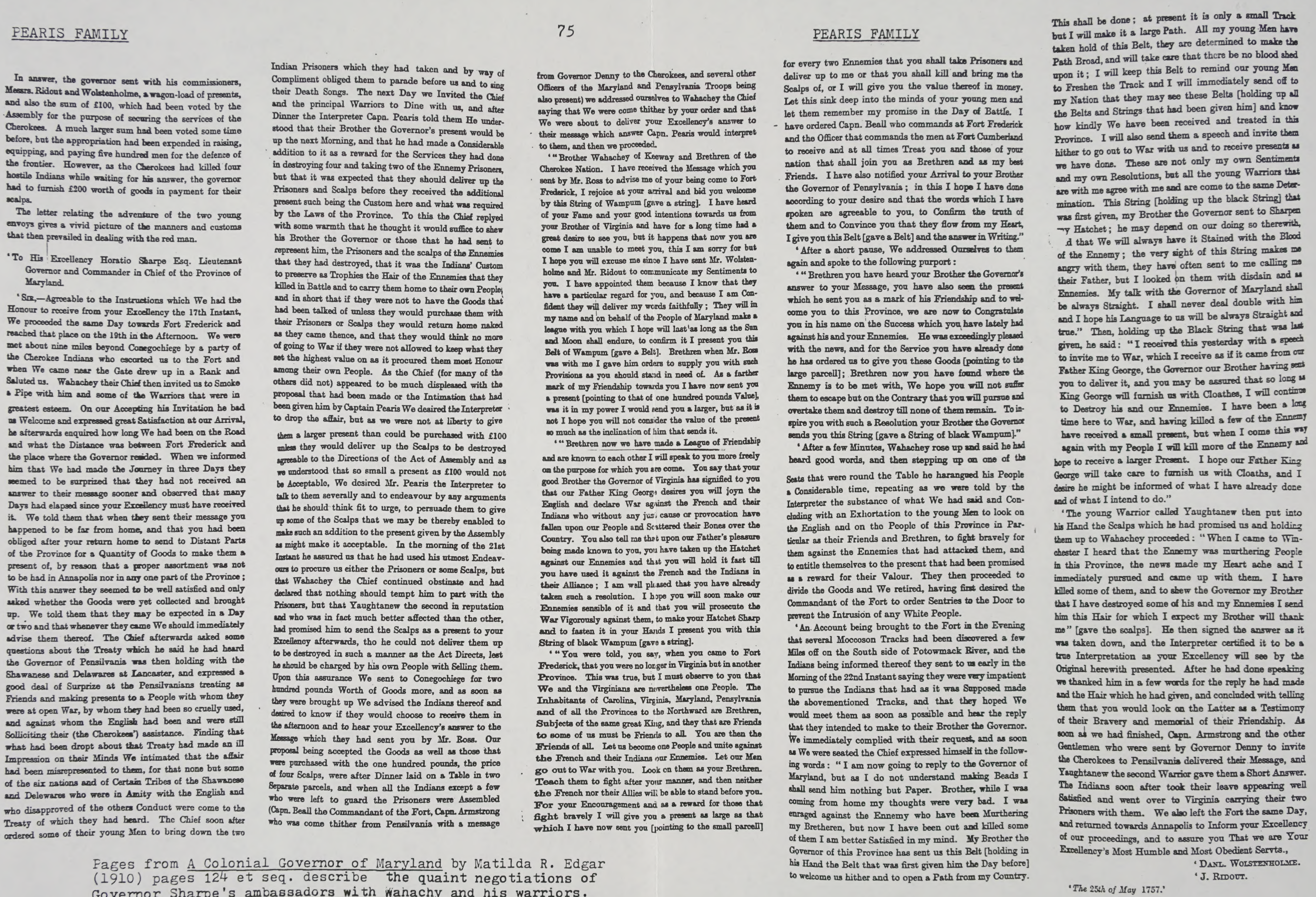
'"Brethren now we have
and are known to each other I
on the purpose for which you
good Brother the Governor of
that our Father King Georg
English and declare War ag
Indians who without any jus
fallen upon our People and S
Country. You also tell me th
being made known to you, yo
against our Ennemies and th
you have used it against the
their Alliance; I am well pl
taken such a resolution. I h
Ennemies sensible of it and
War Vigorously against them,
and to fasten it in your Ha
String of black Wampum [gav

'"You were told, you sa
Frederick, that you were no lo
Province. This was true, but
We and the Virginians are n
Inhabitants of Carolina, Virg
and of all the Provinces to t
Subjects of the same great Ki
to some of us must be Frien
Friends of all. Let us become
the French and their Indians
go out to War with you. Loo
Teach them to fight after yo
the French nor their Allies wil
For your Encouragement and
fight bravely I will give you
which I have now sent you [

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.



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'To His Excellency Horatio Sharpe Esq. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of Maryland.

'Sir,—Agreeable to the Instructions which We had the Honour to receive from your Excellency the 17th Instant, We proceeded the same Day towards Fort Frederick and reached that place on the 19th in the Afternoon. We were met about nine miles beyond Conegochiege by a party of the Cherokee Indians who escorted us to the Fort and when We came near the Gate drew up in a Rank and Saluted us. Wahachey their Chief then invited us to Smoke a Pipe with him and some of the Warriors that were in greatest esteem. On our Accepting his Invitation he bad us Welcome and expressed great Satisfaction at our Arrival, he afterwards enquired how long We had been on the Road and what the Distance was between Fort Frederick and the place where the Governor resided. When we informed him that We had made the Journey in three Days they seemed to be surprized that they had not received an answer to their message sooner and observed that many Days had elapsed since your Excellency must have received it. We told them that when they sent their message you happened to be far from home, and that you had been obliged after your return home to send to Distant Parts of the Province for a Quantity of Goods to make them a present of, by reason that a proper assortment was not to be had in Annapolis nor in any one part of the Province; With this answer they seemed to be well satisfied and only asked whether the Goods were yet collected and brought up. We told them that they may be expected in a Day or two and that whenever they came We should immediately advise them thereof. The Chief afterwards asked some questions about the Treaty which he said he had heard the Governor of Pensilvania was then holding with the Shawanese and Delawares at Lancaster, and expressed a good deal of Surprize at the Pensilvanians treating as Friends and making presents to a People with whom they were at open War, by whom they had been so cruelly used, and against whom the English had been and were still Solliciting their (the Cherokees') assistance. Finding that what had been dropt about that Treaty had made an ill Impression on their Minds We intimated that the affair had been misrepresented to them, for that none but some of the six nations and of Certain Tribes of the Shawanese and Delewares who were in Amity with the English and who disapproved of the others Conduct were come to the Treaty of which they had heard. The Chief soon after ordered some of their young Men to bring down the two Indian Prisoners which they had taken and by way of Compliment obliged them to parade before us and to sing their Death Songs. The next Day we Invited the Chief and the principal Warriors to Dine with us, and after Dinner the Interpreter Capn. Pearis told them He understood that their Brother the Governor's present would be up the next Morning, and that he had made a Considerable addition to it as a reward for the Services they had done in destroying four and taking two of the Ennemy Prisoners, but that it was expected that they should deliver up the Prisoners and Scalps before they received the additional present such being the Custom here and what was required by the Laws of the Province. To this the Chief replyed with some warmth that he thought it would suffice to shew his Brother the Governor or those that he had sent to represent him, the Prisoners and the scalps of the Ennemies that they had destroyed, that it was the Indians' Custom to preserve as Trophies the Hair of the Ennemies that they killed in Battle and to carry them home to their own People; and in short that if they were not to have the Goods that had been talked of unless they would purchase them with their Prisoners or Scalps they would return home naked as they came thence, and that they would think no more of going to War if they were not allowed to keep what they set the highest value on as it procured them most Honour among their own People. As the Chief (for many of the others did not) appeared to be much displeased with the proposal that had been made or the Intimation that had been given him by Captain Pearis We desired the Interpreter to drop the affair, but as we were not at liberty to give them a larger present than could be purchased with £100 unless they would deliver up the Scalps to be destroyed agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly and as we understood that so small a present as £100 would not be Acceptable, We desired Mr. Pearis the Interpreter to talk to them severally and to endeavour by any arguments that he should think fit to urge, to persuade them to give up some of the Scalps that we may be thereby enabled to make such an addition to the present given by the Assembly as might make it acceptable. In the morning of the 21st Instant he assured us that he had used his utmost Endeavours to procure us either the Prisoners or some Scalps, but that Wahachey the Chief continued obstinate and had declared that nothing should tempt him to part with the Prisoners, but that Yaughtanew the second in reputation and who was in fact much better affected than the other, had promised him to send the Scalps as a present to your Excellency afterwards, tho he could not deliver them up to be destroyed in such a manner as the Act Directs, lest he should be charged by his own People with Selling them. Upon this assurance We sent to Conegochiege for two hundred pounds Worth of Goods more, and as soon as they were brought up We advised the Indians thereof and desired to know if they would choose to receive them in the afternoon and to hear your Excellency's answer to the Message which they had sent you by Mr. Ross. Our proposal being accepted the Goods as well as those that were purchased with the one hundred pounds, the price of four Scalps, were after Dinner laid on a Table in two Separate parcels, and when all the Indians except a few who were left to guard the Prisoners were Assembled (Capn. Beall the Commandant of the Fort, Capn. Armstrong who was come thither from Pensilvania with a message from Governor Denny to the Cherokees, and several other Officers of the Maryland and Pensylvania Troops being also present) we addressed ourselves to Wahachey the Chief saying that We were come thither by your order and that We were about to deliver your Excellency's answer to their message which answer Capn. Pearis would interpret to them, and then we proceeded.

'"Brother Wahachey of Keeway and Brethren of the Cherokee Nation. I have received the Message which you sent by Mr. Ross to advise me of your being come to Fort Frederick, I rejoice at your arrival and bid you welcome by this String of Wampum [gave a string]. I have heard of your Fame and your good intentions towards us from your Brother of Virginia and have for a long time had a great desire to see you, but it happens that now you are come I am unable to meet you, this I am sorry for but I hope you will excuse me since I have sent Mr. Wolstenholme and Mr. Ridout to communicate my Sentiments to you. I have appointed them because I know that they have a particular regard for you, and because I am Confident they will deliver my words faithfully; They will in my name and on behalf of the People of Maryland make a league with you which I hope will last as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to confirm it I present you this Belt of Wampum [gave a Belt]. Brethren when Mr. Ross was with me I gave him orders to supply you with such Provisions as you should stand in need of. As a farther mark of my Friendship towards you I have now sent you a present [pointing to that of one hundred pounds Value], was it in my power I would send you a larger, but as it is not I hope you will not consider the value of the present so much as the inclination of him that sends it.

'"Brethren now we have made a League of Friendship and are known to each other I will speak to you more freely on the purpose for which you are come. You say that your good Brother the Governor of Virginia has signified to you that our Father King George desires you will joyn the English and declare War against the French and their Indians who without any just cause or provocation have fallen upon our People and Scattered their Bones over the Country. You also tell me that upon our Father's pleasure being made known to you, you have taken up the Hatchet against our Ennemies and that you will hold it fast till you have used it against the French and the Indians in their Alliance; I am well pleased that you have already taken such a resolution. I hope you will soon make our Ennemies sensible of it and that you will prosecute the War Vigorously against them, to make your Hatchet Sharp and to fasten it in your Hands I present you with this String of black Wampum [gave a string].

'"You were told, you say, when you came to Fort Frederick, that you were no longer in Virginia but in another Province. This was true, but I must observe to you that We and the Virginians are nevertheless one People. The Inhabitants of Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pensylvania and of all the Provinces to the Northward are Brethren, Subjects of the same great King, and they that are Friends to some of us must be Friends to all. You are then the Friends of all. Let us become one People and unite against the French and their Indians our Ennemies. Let our Men go out to War with you. Look on them as your Brethren. Teach them to fight after your manner, and then neither the French nor their Allies will be able to stand before you. For your Encouragement and as a reward for those that fight bravely I will give you a present as large as that which I have now sent you [pointing to the small parcell] for every two Ennemies that you shall take Prisoners and deliver up to me or that you shall kill and bring me the Scalps of, or I will give you the value thereof in money. Let this sink deep into the minds of your young men and let them remember my promise in the Day of Battle. I have ordered Capn. Beall who commands at Fort Frederick and the Officer that commands the men at Fort Cumberland to receive and at all times Treat you and those of your nation that shall join you as Brethren and as my best Friends. I have also notified your Arrival to your Brother the Governor of Pensylvania; in this I hope I have done according to your desire and that the words which I have spoken are agreeable to you, to Confirm the truth of them and to Convince you that they flow from my Heart, I give you this Belt [gave a Belt] and the answer in Writing."

'After a short pause, We addressed Ourselves to them again and spoke to the following purport:

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'After a few Minutes, Wahachey rose up and said he had heard good words, and then stepping up on one of the Seats that were round the Table he harangued his People a Considerable time, repeating as we were told by the Interpreter the substance of what We had said and Concluding with an Exhortation to the young Men to look on the English and on the People of this Province in Particular as their Friends and Brethren, to fight bravely for them against the Ennemies that had attacked them, and to entitle themselves to the present that had been promised as a reward for their Valour. They then proceeded to divide the Goods and We retired, having first desired the Commandant of the Fort to order Sentries to the Door to prevent the Intrusion of any White People.

'An Account being brought to the Fort in the Evening that several Moccoson Tracks had been discovered a few Miles off on the South side of Potowmack River, and the Indians being informed thereof they sent to us early in the Morning of the 22nd Instant saying they were very impatient to pursue the Indians that had as it was Supposed made the abovementioned Tracks, and that they hoped We would meet them as soon as possible and hear the reply that they intended to make to their Brother the Governor. We immediately complied with their request, and as soon as We were seated the Chief expressed himself in the following words: "I am now going to reply to the Governor of Maryland, but as I do not understand making Beads I shall send him nothing but Paper. Brother, while I was coming from home my thoughts were very bad. I was enraged against the Ennemy who have been Murthering my Bretheren, but now I have been out and killed some of them I am better Satisfied in my mind. My Brother the Governor of this Province has sent us this Belt [holding in his Hand the Belt that was first given him the Day before] to welcome us hither and to open a Path from my Country. This shall be done; at present it is only a small Track but I will make it a large Path. All my young Men have taken hold of this Belt, they are determined to make the Path Broad, and will take care that there be no blood shed upon it; I will keep this Belt to remind our young Men to Freshen the Track and I will immediately send off to my Nation that they may see these Belts [holding up all the Belts and Strings that had been given him] and know how kindly We have been received and treated in this Province. I will also send them a speech and invite them hither to go out to War with us and to receive presents as we have done. These are not only my own Sentiments and my own Resolutions, but all the young Warriors that are with me agree with me and are come to the same Determination. This String [holding up the black String] that was first given, my Brother the Governor sent to Sharpen my Hatchet; he may depend on our doing so therewith, and that We will always have it Stained with the Blood of the Ennemy; the very sight of this String makes me angry with them, they have often sent to me calling me their Father, but I looked on them with disdain and as Ennemies. My talk with the Governor of Maryland shall be always Straight. I shall never deal double with him and I hope his Language to us will be always Straight and true." Then, holding up the Black String that was last given, he said: "I received this yesterday with a speech to invite me to War, which I receive as if it came from our Father King George, the Governor our Brother having sent you to deliver it, and you may be assured that so long as King George will furnish us with Cloathes, I will continue to Destroy his and our Ennemies. I have been a long time here to War, and having killed a few of the Ennemy have received a small present, but when I come this way again with my People I will kill more of the Ennemy and hope to receive a larger Present. I hope our Father King George will take care to furnish us with Cloaths, and I desire he might be informed of what I have already done and of what I intend to do."

'The young Warrior called Yaughtanew then put into his Hand the Scalps which he had promised us and holding them up to Wahachey proceeded: "When I came to Winchester I heard that the Ennemy was murthering People in this Province, the news made my Heart ache and I immediately pursued and came up with them. I have killed some of them, and to shew the Governor my Brother that I have destroyed some of his and my Ennemies I send him this Hair for which I expect my Brother will thank me" [gave the scalps]. He then signed the answer as it was taken down, and the Interpreter certified it to be a true Interpretation as your Excellency will see by the Original herewith presented. After he had done speaking we thanked him in a few words for the reply he had made and the Hair which he had given, and concluded with telling them that you would look on the Latter as a Testimony of their Bravery and memorial of their Friendship. As soon as we had finished, Capn. Armstrong and the other Gentlemen who were sent by Governor Denny to invite the Cherokees to Pensilvania delivered their Message, and Yaughtanew the second Warrior gave them a Short Answer. The Indians soon after took their leave appearing well Satisfied and went over to Virginia carrying their two Prisoners with them. We also left the Fort the same Day, and returned towards Annapolis to Inform your Excellency of our proceedings, and to assure you That we are Your Excellency's Most Humble and Most Obedient Servts.,

'Danl. Wolstenholme.
'J. Ridout.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

Pages from A Colonial Governor of Maryland by Matilda R. Edgar (1910) pages 124 et seq. describe the quaint negotiations of Governor Sharpe's ambassadors with Wahachy and his warriors.

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'DANL. WOLSTENHOLME.
'J. RIDOUT.

'*The 25th of May* 1757.'

The Maryland governor's ambassadors were his own secretary, John Ridout and wealthy Annapolis merchant Daniel Wolstenholme. As you may gather from the fine print in the previous page, upon receiving Wahatchy's letter, he asked his Assembly at once for funds to pay for Indian presents; but as will be abundantly clear in upcoming pages, it was an exceedingly parsimonious group. Having already posted a Ⱡ50 bounty per scalp considered quite generous, after long debate it voted Ⱡ150 for Wahatchy's party. On news ofthe mixed patrol's success, Sharpe added bounty for four scalps to the grant, and spent Ⱡ300 on presents, sent by John Ridout in wagons to Fort Frederick, though the Chief's subsequent refusal to turn over the scalps created a complication. Governor Sharpe also commissioned Richard Pearis a captain in one of the newly-authorized emergency Maryland Regiments.

Before returning to Winchester, the party stopped briefly at Fort Lyttelton PA, where they heard that that colony's Indian agent, Col. John Armstrong, had recently met with Mohawks and other friendly tribes at Lancaster. Pearis thereupon sent Armstrong word of their recent success upon Pennsylvania soil, plus talks by Youghtanno and Wahatchy inviting him to meet them at Fort Frederick."Pennsylvanians, hungry for Indian auxiliaries to shield their long frontier, hastened with presents"*

On May 18 at Fort Frederick the Cherokees, awaiting Maryland's offerings, opened a conference with the Pennsylvanians. Armstrong apologized for having brought so few presents: three rifles, four ruffled holland shirts, and a little wampum. He had come in haste to meet them. If they would come to Pennsylvania, he would give them more. Wawhatchee became very amiable. The next day he replied with pious thankfulness that he and his men had been able to protect Pennsylvania from an impending blow. He must first go to Winchester, then to Pennsylvania.[13]

On the twentieth the Maryland reward arrived. The Cherokees, as was their custom, shared the gift with all, soldiers and Indians, who had been in the Allegheny fight. But they refused to surrender the scalps for which Maryland had paid them a bounty.[14] On the twenty-second as Sharpe's empty-handed envoy rode back to Annapolis, the Indians set out with their gifts and scalps for Winchester, entranced with the dream of Virginia's bounty to be followed by Pennsylvania's largess.

Disappointment awaited them at Winchester. Captain Mercer had gone. A tall, sandy-haired Virginian, Colonel Washington, had taken over and had orders to leave Indian affairs to Edmund Atkin.[15] Mr. Atkin, however, had not yet reached Winchester, and Washington told the indignant Cherokees that he lacked the power to give them anything. Promptly the twenty-five-year-old Colonel was in hot water. "They are the most insolent, the most avaricious, the most dissatisfied wretches I ever had to deal with," he informed Dinwiddie. "If anything should detain Mr. Atkin's arrival . . . all the rhetoric I can master is not likely to detain them more than two or three days."[16]

His Majesty's Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District was then at Williamsburg devising a more systematic approach to Indian problems. Though repeatedly urged by Dinwiddie to hurry to Winchester where an immediate crisis existed, Atkin proceeded deliberately and meticulously about the program he had planned. With Dinwiddie he worked out a system of escorts, passports, and supply depots for Indians, designed to prevent repetition of the April disorders.[17] He did not arrive at Winchester with the promised presents until June 3.

Before the Superintendent could unpack his saddlebags, Wawhatchee burst into his quarters and demanded to hear what he had come to say. Wawhatchee's bluster derived partly from fear that Atkin had come to punish him. Atkin had been a member of the South Carolina council which had threatened Wawhatchee with punishment in connection with the Haig and Brown affair a decade before. Ignoring the impatient Cherokee, Atkin went firmly about the business of unpacking and placing his gear. Finally he quietly told the headman he would give his talk when he was ready and not before. Wawhatchee. That evening Youghtanno visited Atkin, laughed at Wawhatchee's anger, and hinted that matters could be mended. Atkin was conciliatory, and the next morning a quieted and dignified Wawhatchee accompanied by Youghtanno came to the Superintendent. With composure he listened to the terms of the new dispensation. In the future the southern Indians should heed only those talks given by the Superintendent or sent under his seal; they should obey no orders except those the Superintendent sent; and there should be no presents except as the Superintendent approved them. Wawhatchee gravely uttered his approval.

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* Ibid 120-121

In Spring 1757 the Assembly, having considered at length "the great Expense the Virg'a Regim't has cost the Country, completely remodeled that military organization." Instructions to Washington on 16 May 1757 commanded that it "shall consist of only ten companies of 100 men each; that all Captains but seven be reduc'd. Those I thought proper to continue are Capts. Mercer, Stewart, Waggoner, Lewis, Woodward, Spotswood, and McKenzie. To those discontinued..you are to offer lieutenancies..."Now more recruiting, and strict discipline of men was ordered. (Before, as in the Big Sandy Expedition, some captains had as few as 30 men. Richard was to find that Maryland already had the high standards described, and 100 men to a company.)

The orders continued, "You are no longer to have concern with, or Management of Indian Affairs. The Hon'ble Mr. Atkin is appointed by His M'y for that extraordinary Service. He is now repairing to Winchester for that purpose and will, I suppose, if he sh'd be obliged to leave it before the Indians return home, appoint some person to transact the Business in his absence..."

Probably Washington heaved a giant sigh of relief when he read that, not realizing the serious problems that pompous worthy, who lacked the finesse and suavity to mask paucity of presents in solacing speeches. He brought the insolent Wahatchy to heel, but lost him to Virginia service. And his firing of Richard Pearis was a disservice to Virginia, for whatever his faults, Richard understood how to get along with Cherokees, who could when properly led, be of tremendous service to the Colony. No other officer ever acquired that talent.

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* Edmond Atkin, B. 1707 in Exeter, England and longtime Charleston S.C. merchant, was in England 1750-6, when he wrote a lengthy report in which he persuaded the Board of Trade to create the office of Supt. of Indian Affairs for the Southern Colonies and secured the position for himself. But once in America, he was not successful in getting adequate funding due to hesitation on the parts of Lord Loudoun and Sir William Johnson. Dinwiddie, however, was anxious to secure his services to unburden Washington of Indian problems, deal more effectively with southern Indians, and end clashes between Indian agents of the various colonies. He also tried in vain to obtain Atkin's services and Indian presents without costs to Virginia.

Atkin began operations at Fort Loudoun VA on 3 June with the loyal support of Washington. In July, however, his arbitrary methods created a dangerous incident. He believed a party of ten Indians which appeared there were French spies, and imprisoned the whole group--it turned out at least some were friendly Cherokees. Washington stepped in to explain the mistake, and was able, by messenger, to overtake Cherokees on the way home and make amends before the whole tribe would be upset.

Besides Richard Pearis, now a Maryland agent, and George Croghan, Sir William Johnson's deputy, he also involved himself in quarrels with several officers of Washington's regiment. Yet, overall, his mission was not without accomplishment. At Washington & Dinwiddie's request, he appointed the well-known Christopher Gist as his deputy and took his leave to return overland to South Carolina.

* (Information taken from John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier by John Richard Allen-(1944) which provides much more detail.)

Excerpts from Pennsylvania Archives 3 (Original Series) pp. 175-189

The original intent had been to present these much-quoted letters in their entirety, but there just is not room in this book. Edmund Atkin's letters are long-winded and pompous, designed to impress others of his great authority as the newly-appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department, for the King. In all of them he proclaims that HE had been appointed by His Majesty to preclude disorder such as that which had just occurred, and also circumvent a drain on His Majesty's purse--otherwise the Indians, being no fools, would go from colony to colony extorting the greatest bounties, or worse yet, double-charge for the same service. All His Majesty's governments must combine to give only one present, as cheap as possible, for each service.

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> "This Governor Dinwiddie thought wrong, as the Indians were brought to the assistance of this Colony, & supported with great Expence to it, & Captain Paris was in its pay and Service by his Commission. Tho' had he not taken, as he did, another Commission from Governor Sharpe (Note: Maryland Governor) I was empowered by Governor Dinwiddie to discharge him in his name, on account of the many Complaints he had received against him in other Respects.
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Atkin gives in great detail some of the mind and word games he played with Wawhatchee and Yahtanow of the Cherokee town of Kuwee (who evidently had protected murderers of a Mr. George Haig). At length Wawhatchee pretended to be chastened and "declared he did not expect at first to hear anything good from him "but would make amends for his behavior , and would collect warriors to carry him to their towns to the southward to talk to them." Rightly suspecting mischief against his person, Atkin declined. Wawhatchee thanked him profusely and said how glad he was to have found a friend, but

> "The next morning being the 5th, just as I was going to deliver the Presents of this Government, and to cancel their Engagements & then to hint to the Cherokees the Regulation intended by me, as I had done to the Catawbaws, Captain Paris shew'd me a Letter from you to him dated at Carlisle the 3d with a string of white wampum to invite the Cherokees under his Command to meet you with him at Fort Loudoun 'in Pennsylvania to receive a present

> "Without Doubt you had no notice of my being hereabouts, But you will be Sensible from what I said before, that Captain Paris had no command here, having discharged himself by accepting of a Commission in another Government. He nor any other person could negotiate any matter with the Indians in my department without my leave. (By the way, he is a man whom I shall by no means ever Intrust with the Conduct of Indian concerns, tho' I believe he is a fit man to head a party in the Woods, & I have been obliged to make use of his Tongue, on this Occasion upon his oath as Interpreter.)

> "Tho' I gave all the Caution possible not to let the Cherokees know the Message, yet they were soon made acquainted with it by more than one for different reasons and purposes.9th P.S. I have warned Duning your Express (whom I have detain'd in the Hurry I am in till I could give you this detail) not to carry over the Powtomack Wawhatchee's people, who I understand are waiting for him or Paris or both, untill he shall hear from you."

Atkin wasted his ink in this last regard, for Pearis promptly carried the Indians over the Potomac himself, before orders forbidding this could be received, as we see in the following letters.

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Though to all outward appearances Atkin had received great cooperation from Gov. Dinwiddie, Maryland Gov. Horatio Sharpe was harder to convince though he decided it was wise to at least appear to go along. Part of Atkin's letter to Sharpe of 12 June 1757 contains the following:

> Letter 12 June 1757, Winchester, Edmund Atkin to His Excellency, Horatio Sharpe, Governor of Maryland.
> Sir: I am very much obliged to your Excellency for your Favour of the 1st Instant, which came to my hand last Sunday, giving me a Copy of the Message or Letter sent to you from the Party of Cherokees, carried by Capt. Pearis into Maryland the 29th of April last, and of the Transactions that passed afterwards at Fort Frederick on your Frontier, ...imagining I was returned to South Carolina...
> ....inclosed Copy of a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnson's Deputy in the Northern Department, by way of answer to a Letter Capt. Pearis received from him by the same Express that brought your Packet, inviting the before mentioned Party of Cherokees to Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania, to receive a present provided for them by that Government, in Consequence of the Message they had sent to Govr. Denny, offering their assistance to him also....

> "I consider Pearis as the Spring of this Mischief, who being then in the Pay & Service of this Government, and in Breach of his Orders, turning his Back upon & baulking a Matter of Importance (being certainly conscious of his intended Discharge for Misbehavior,) carried Wawhatchee's said Party over Potowmack, in order to make a Merit with Governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, by offering their Assistance.... This money might have been saved; because Paris knew that being then in the Pay & Service of this Colony, they were obliged to deliver these Scalps here, for 10 pounds each, and 45 pounds for a prisoner.....

> "On the 8th, most of Wawhatchee's Party stole away in the Morning privately, to get the presents intended at Fort Loudoun in Pennsylvania. But Mr. Croghan who was to have delivered it, on a few Lines of Notification I sent by Express at their Heels, just to put him on his Guard, resolved, before my other Letter at large reached him, not to transact any thing whatsoever with them. Pearis who the same Day asked Leave of me most earnestly, to go to his new Duty in Maryland, but promised solemnly he would not go until Smith, whom I had sent for, should come to me, followed them the next Morning without saying a Word to me more; leaving me without an Interpreter to speak to those that remained in this Town."

On receiving Adkin's message, Croghan decided to cover himself by asking Pennsylvania officer Col. John Armstrong to accompany him, as they answered to different bosses. Armstrong recognized that it was important, but made sure to stay out of trouble by writing to report everything to Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania on 19 June 1757. After the first quote he relays the sad fate of Swallow Warrior and experiences of other Cherokee groups, also a report regarding Col. Stanwix and Capt. Dagworthy, probably the scare at top of page 73.

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> that Six Cherokees that staid to view the situation of Duquesne, observ'd the French hurrying greatly and making preparation, as they thought, to March out an Army; accordingly the Indians watched their motions until, on the 10th Inst., they saw a large Body cross the Monongehela, near the place where Genl Braddock was defeated, with wheel'd Carriages and Guns larger than any at Fort Cumberland, and Men, as the Indians phrase it, that could not be counted. Capt. Dagworthy thinks they are coming against that place .... where they have but 180 Men, raw troops from Maryland. Col. Washington told me..it was not in his power to assist the Garrison, nor wou'd all his men be more than a Breakfast to the French & their Indians..."

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The following developments regarding Cherokee warriors in Virginia are only the beginning of the story, but do reflect what happened soon thereafter to the parties just mentioned. By then Richard was in Maryland assuming his new duties. (Cherokee Frontier, Corkran, pp. 123-7)

With Pearis cashiered and a ban put upon their Pennsylvania trip, the Indians' behavior altered. When Atkin assembled them to receive the presents Dinwiddie had sent, Wawhatchee was unhappy. The goods, "by no means contemptible," according to Atkin, were to be shared with the absent Swallow Warrior's party. Disdainfully glancing at the heaped presents, Wawhatchee grunted that they were not worth dividing: Swallow Warrior could have them all. As he moodily walked away, the worried Atkin hastened after him and told him he could take them all if his conscience would permit. Whereupon Wawhatchee, whose conscience was not tender, turned back, and took all the presents, "without remorse."

Oblivious to the Indian's contempt, the Superintendent then developed the subject of the Pennsylvania visit by reading an invitation from Croghan. The Cherokees listened coldly to Atkin's promise that if they would go to war, he would send to Croghan to learn what sort of reward could be had. Wawhatchee, perceiving that Atkin wished to prevent present-collecting on the scale to which he aspired, disdainfully left Croghan's wampum dangling in the Superintendent's hand. Nevertheless, the conference broke up with intimations that the Indians might be more tractable the next day.

The morrow came, but no Indians waited upon His Majesty's Superintendent. Youghtanno, after an all-night debauch, had early in the morning reeled off toward the nation, followed by thirteen of his men.

When finally a penitent Wawhatchee came to Atkin to take formal leave, he repudiated Pearis, blaming his own conduct upon his benefactor, who, he said, had claimed sole authority over the Cherokees. Already prejudiced against the adventurer, the Superintendent believed the headman's statements, assuming that Wawhatchee's denunciation of Pearis represented a heartfelt conversion.

Shortly after the Mankiller of Estatoe came to Winchester, George Croghan brought in the Pennsylvania gift for Wawhatchee's party. Atkin decided that it was excessive and gave the lingering Wawhatchee but a part. The remainder he turned over to the Mankiller of Estatoe for accompanying Croghan to Pennsylvania to help Colonel Stanwix.

Led by Croghan and accompanied by Richard Smith to keep an eye on Johnson's deputy for Atkin, the party reached Carlisle on June 29. Now on Pennsylvania soil Croghan took advantage of Atkin, who had forbidden Johnson's deputy to speak to the Cherokees. Convincing himself that the northern and southern Indian districts were geographical rather than tribal units Croghan decided that Cherokees in Pennsylvania were outside the southern Superintendent's jurisdiction.[23] He approached the Mankiller with presents and the promise that if he remained in Pennsylvania there would be further reward. The Cherokees agreed to stay twenty days.

The Cherokee sojourn in Pennsylvania ended inauspiciously On July 21 a Cherokee runner arrived from the south with such disturbing news that Colonel Stanwix had difficulty holding the Indians to receive their presents.[24] All fifty-five Cherokees surged from the fort down the road toward Winchester.

Winchester had been very quiet after Croghan left for Carlisle with the Estatoes. Late in June, Osteneco passed through on his way to the frontier after having delivered a message in Williamsburg from Old Hop and the Little Carpenter. Then in July what appears to have been a backdoor deputation of Overhills, accompanied by Mingo warriors, bound for upper New York to confer with the neutral Onondaga council, arrived. Atkin, at the moment without a skilled linguister, gained the impression that enemy spies were in his midst and threw the deputies into Winchester jail.[25] Horrified, convalescent Cherokees lingering at the base dispatched a runner to Chota and sent for help to the nearest war party, the Mankiller's Estatoes at Carlisle. The Estatoes, boiling into Winchester, effected a jail delivery before young Washington could convince them that a mistake had been made. Only after the deputies' wounded pride had been assuaged with presents did the Estatoe Mankiller send a runner to counteract the story already proceeding toward the nation.[26]

"I can only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been." -George Washington.

Instructions to John David Wilper* Fort Loudoun, June 7, 1757

You are hereby Ordered to take charge of the Cherokee Indians, whereof Warhatchie and Yautanou are Chiefs, and to conduct them in the nearest and best way you can from this place, thro' Augusta, Bedford and Halifax Counties, to the Borders of North Carolina; and deliver them over to some Civil or Military Officer of that Province, in order to their being further conducted towards their Nation.

That the Indians may not be disappointed in provisions, you are to send on a man a days march before you, to provide for them. You are to get exact accounts of the kinds, quantities and value, from every man that supplies you; which you are to certify and keep copies, and endeaver to be as frugal of, as possible. The person who goes on before is to desire the people at whose Houses the Indians may halt, carefully to conceal any liquor they may have. Shou'd the Indians however, behave in a mild discreet manner, you may at night give them a little rum mixed with water, if to be had; which you are to inform them is procured thro your own influence upon the White people, on account of their good Behavior, and not by virtue of Orders.

Shou'd any of the Indians misbehave, you are not to find fault with the Agressor, but to apply for redress to Warhatchie only.

The party now at this place from Capt. Hogg's Company, is to march with you as far as their road and yours is one (and shou'd be supplied with provisions in the same manner that the Indians are; as they are intended as an Escort to them) After which you are to order them to join their Company; unless you shall find it necessary to take them farther, to keep the Indians from mischief. In such case you may carry the men, but in no other.

As you have applied to me for liberty of absence, you have hereby liberty for days, after you shall have conducted the Indians, agreeably to the above Orders.

George Washington

From:: The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 complied by Ford, Volume I 1745-1756 pages 46-7. (US Govt. Printing Office, John G. Fitzpatric, editor)

*washington mis-spelled the soldier's name. He was St. John David Woelpper of Captain Peter Hogg's company--but he had assistance in guarding this formerly unruly group of Cherokees.

Even Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" Atkin said he was waiting for when Richard Pearis deserted him, seems to have thought the Indians should be paid more than was being offered:

Letter of Richard Smith to Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir

Carlisle 4 July 1757

Agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins I immediately upon receiving your Orders sent a Party of the Cherokees to scour the Woods about Ray's Town, and I think it my Duty not only as it is agreeable to my Instructions from Mr. Atkins but as the Good of his Majesty's Service depends on it to acquaint you of the Disposition and Temper of this party of Indians which came with me to this Government, and as your Honor may be the better judge of it have inclosed you a Copy of a Speech of theirs made at Fort Loudoun the 1st of this Instant and give you my opinion. These People say that one Part of their People had been with the French, and that they were returned with very large Presents and great Promises. Upon finding that number of their People to join the French they determined to come and see their Brothers the English as they have always had a Regard for them, in hopes that their Brothers would treat them in such a manner that upon

their going Home they should be able to shew their People that it was their Interest to let their Nation see that their Brothers were not that bad people which those in the French Interest had represented them, at their coming from their Towns, they told them the Virginians would deceive them and not perform their promises. They say that they are sorry to find what they were told before they came from Home should turn out to be true, that they do not value the Presents but should they go Home after being so long in the Service of the English, and have nothing to shew for their Services that they will be made a Mock of, and give the Party in the French Interest an opportunity of persuading their People to join the French which a contrary Behaviour on the Side of the English would prevent.

Sir it is my opinion if this Party goes away displeased, it will be the means of engaging us in a War with the Creeks also, as they are intierly influenced by them, and the Consequence must be dreadful to the English Colonies in General. When on the other Hand should they go off in a good Temper, I am of opinion that they will be able to bring the Over Hills People, and Creeks to the side of the English. I was glad to see the good understanding between the Six Nations and these People, as appears by the speeches made by the Mohock Sachem to them and their answers, and they have agreed with the Six Nations to meet upon these Frontiers in the Spring in great numbers if they are now well treated in order to carry on the War against the French.

Sir I make Bold to recommend to you the sending home these People in good Temper as their future Conduct will be regulated by it, and by Instructions I am ordered to call upon and Mr. Croghan for such Rewards for these People as I shall think necessary: I am your Honors mlst obedient humble servant

Richd Smith

Sharpe to Atkin 29 July 1757

Sir: I am obliged to you for Your Letters ofthe 12th & 30 of June & 12th Inst which were dld to me a few Days ago by Mr. Fell. If the Assembly of this Province had left it to me to cultivate the Friendship of the Southern Indians or to encourge their Service by such Methods as I should judge proper I shoul proceed according to Your Advice & Directions but as the Assembly did long before His Majesty was pleased to appoint you Super-Intendant of Indian Affairs appropriate a Sum of Money for the Encouragement & Reward of such of them as should takeor destroy any of our Indian Enemies & did also after the Example that was set by the Northern Covernmts by an Act direct certain persons called Agents to pay a fixed Sum for every Scalp which should be brought in by them & deld to any Magistrate it is not in my power to put a Stop to this practice nor can I order any of the Money that is so appropriated to be otherwise applied, however if You will communicate to me by Letter Your Sentiments on this point & set forth in strong Terms the Impropriety of such a measure I will lay Your Letter before the Assembly at our next Meeting & perhaps they will be brought up to approve ofsuch a plan as you shall fit to recomment. I would have you insist on the great Expense that these Colonies will subject themselves to by continuing the present Method as I am apt to think that such a Consideration will have its weight with our People & I do not think it would be amiss for you to observe that while the Indians are encouraged to run from One place to another for Presents their Service is lost to all of Us.

You may also assure me that His Majesty will expect us to conform to Your Regulation with Respect to the Management of these Indians which will justify me in insisting upon the Repeal of that part of our Act whereby a Reward is allotted for such Scalps as shall be taken by our Indian Allies & support the Arguments that I may urge to persuade them to adopy Your Scheme. When the Assembly met last I earnestly recommended it to them to

make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply of our Indian Friends that may come or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose. Indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any Provisions that should be dld to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr. Ross will ever receive any Allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to the Ministry & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass no Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made & interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo. Stanwix wherein he pressed me to impower Mr. Croghan to purchase and in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly had not left any publick money to my Disposal.

When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restrain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend to any New Duty. I understand that the Govern't of Virg'a had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virg'a was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has neither met yours nor Governor Dinwiddie's Approbation, however, as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt. Pearis thither.

I suppose the Belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Yatanou upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been dld with my Message. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great Affection for Pearis which makes the old Fellow jealous & an Enemy to him. If this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs, for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his Return to this Province.
I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the premium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name of with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am, & c.

This letter is copied verbatim from Maryland Archives 9: 59-61 in an article called Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. The letter from Richard Smith was in the same volume, pages 44-5.

It appears from this letter that Governor Sharpe was a very perceptive man Later on under altered circumstances he did give Richard much more authority than promised above. Though there was a surface cordiality between Sharpe and Dinwiddie, relations were then strained over border disputes and other considerations.

make some Provision for the payment of such Persons as I should order to supply of our Indian Friends that may come or pass thro the Province with such Victuals as they may stand in need of but they would not grant any Sum of Money for that purpose; indeed they did as it were promise to pay for any provisions that should be did to them at Fort Frederick but it is a Doubt whether Mr. Ross will ever receive any allowance for what has been or shall be given to them at Fort Cumberland. I should think that the best way for you to carry your scheme effectually into Execution would be to represent the propriety & Expediency of it to His Majesty & if they shall be pleased to approve thereof the Governors of these Provinces may expect to receive Instructions to pass an Act relative to Indian Affairs unless it be entirely consonant to Your plan, & to get any Act that has been already made & interferes therewith repealed. I lately received a Letter from Colo. Stanwix wherein he presses me to impower Mr. Croghan to purchase and in my Name to deliver a Present to the Cherokees that were then with him but I was obliged to tell him I could not comply with his Request as the Assembly has not left any public money to my Disposal.

When I gave Capt Pearis a Commission in our Provincials I did not intend to take him from the Indians or to restrain his Service to this Province nor was he thereby required to attend to any new Duty. I understand that the Govenor of Virga had employed several other Interpreters & as I thought too many could not be engaged I gave him a Company that was then raising to encourage him also to continue in the Service having been told that his Allowance from Virga was scarcely sufficient to support him. I am very sorry to find that his Conduct has not met with your nor Governor Dinwiddie's Approbation, however, as an Interpreter will be much wanted at Fort Cumberland while the Cherokees continue to go that way to war he might be of Service there & as Colo Stanwix has taken him & the rest of our Officers under his own immediate Command I have desired him to order Capt. Pearis thither.

I suppose the belt that Wahachee enquired after was one that was given to Antacoo upon Wahachee's refusing to part with either of them that had been sent with my Messages. I am told that that Young Warrior shews a great affection for Pearis which makes the old fellow jealous & an Enemy to him. If this is the Case it is not improbable that Wahachee has falsified in what he says of his having told him that he had the Management of Indian Affairs. for my own part I cannot help entertaining a very bad opinion of that old Fellow & do not desire to hear of his return to this Province.
I have forbidden Pearis to make any Promise to him or any other of the Cherokees in my name or to transact any Business whatever with them on behalf of this Province but if they shall at any time come to Fort Frederick they will be furnished with provisions as usual & if they should bring in any Scalps & deliver them up while our Act of Assembly continues in force the Agents will not refuse to pay the premium tho if you choose to give such Directions the Agents will purchase Goods therewith & deliver them in your name or with any Speech that you shall desire them to make on such occasion. I am, & c.

This letter is copied verbatim from *Maryland Archives* 9: 59-61 in an article called *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe*. The letter from Richard Smith was in the same volume, pages 44-5.

It appears from this letter that Governor Sharpe was a very perceptive ma later on under altered circumstances he did give Richard much more auth ity than granted above. Though there was a surface cordiality between Sharpe and Dinwiddie, relations were then strained over former disputes and other considerations.

The preceding letter gave Washington's official instructions, but three days later, in a letter to John Robinson, he commented, "Dear Sir: A person of a readier pen, and having more time than myself, might amuse you with his vicissitudes which have happened in the Indian affairs since Mr. Atkin came up. I acknowledge my incompetency, and therefore shall only observe, that the Indians have been pleased and displeased oftener than they ought to have been; and that they are gone off (that party under Warhatchie I mean) in different ways, and with far different views; one part southwardly to their nation; and the other northwardly to treat with the Pennsylvanians, contrary to the sentiments of Mr. Atkin, who has, I believe, sent to forbid any conference to be held with them.... Major Lewis is returned with part of the Indians, that went out with him, in consequence of their having taken only eight days' provisions with them. He was unable to prevail with those savages to take more. One party of twenty, with ten soldiers, is gone towards Fort Duquesne, under Captain Spotswood; and another party of fifteen, with five soldiers, under Lieutenant Baker, but they course towards Logstown. God send them success and a safe return, I pray....."

(A footnote quotes Col. Stanwix to Gov. Denny of PA- 12 June 1757, "As to Indian matters, you must know I can be but a stranger, and I find all those employed as agents very jealous of one another, and I can perceive Mr. Croghan so of Col. Armstrong and..Mr. Atkin so of them all as well as of the Provinces.")(This is getting ahead of the story, but Atkin was a couple of years later replaced by Capt. Stuart, rescued from Ft. Loudoun--the one near Chota--when the Cherokees massacred the others. He, also, gave Richard some trouble but they later collaborated as you will see.)

But lest the reader think the folks of Halifax and Bedford Counties were through with Indian disturbances, it seems they were only beginning, though this time it does not appear Capt. Pearis got the blame. You might enjoy reading about this, and I especially admire "Old Mr. Verdiman, aged about 60" with an elder stick but no gun, bowing before painted warriors who could not understand a word he said, "Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses..." etc. Two versions agree except dates. First*

"..the Cherokees began to leave for the North in large numbers to assist Virginia against the French and Enemy Indians. They were useful but troublesome allies in the campaign of 1757. Because of Forbes' inaction, the Cherokees found themselves idle and refused to wait any longer for action and by July only 200 warriors remained, and by September only 80 left with the Virginia forces. Gov. Dinwiddie again sent an urgent appeal to the Cherokees, this time in early 1758...In May 1758, Moytoy of Settico** leading a band of warriors home from Virginia, set out to go by way of the

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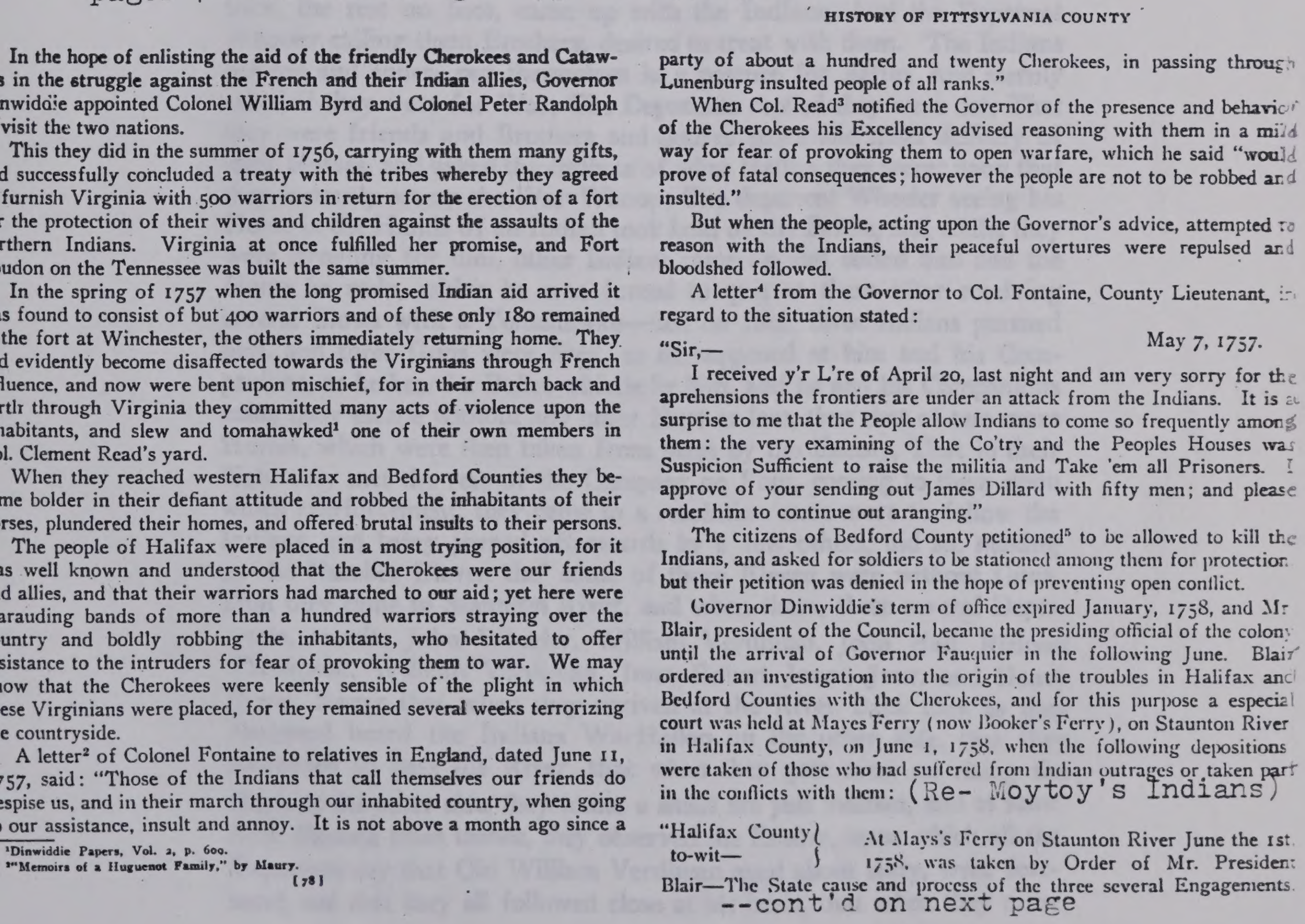
*Early Adventurers on the Western Waters, Mary B. Kegley, pp 59-60
**See Map of Cherokee towns. Settico is next to the capitol town of Chota.

"Cherokee country. Several of his men lost horses, and had been unable to recover them from the English. They took others, to the number of twenty to replace their own, often posing as Shawnees to divert suspicion from their nation. Although some authorities state the horses were running wild in the woods, the papers of the South Carolina Indian Affairs (McDowell, Documents pp.463-5) said the horses were deliberately taken from Virginians: William Verdiman, his son William Jr., John Hall, Richard Thompson, John Wheeler, Robert Jones, Jr., and Henry Snow, all of Halifax County. These men gathered forces and proceeded after the Indians, but were unable to make them fully understand and the Virginians were attacked. Later Captain Head and the local militia pursued them. The Indians, who had thought the Virginians were their friends, were now ready for revenge, and moved into the North Carolina settlements on the Yadkin River and claimed nineteen scalps. There were many such war parties in Virginia during the summer of 1759, and an ugly feeling for all Indians developed among the people of Virginia."

And now let us hear the same story from another source, this time History of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, Maud Carter Clement (1953) pages 78 and following: (photocopy)



In the hope of enlisting the aid of the friendly Cherokees and Catawbas in the struggle against the French and their Indian allies, Governor Dinwiddie appointed Colonel William Byrd and Colonel Peter Randolph to visit the two nations.

This they did in the summer of 1756, carrying with them many gifts, and successfully concluded a treaty with the tribes whereby they agreed to furnish Virginia with 500 warriors in return for the erection of a fort for the protection of their wives and children against the assaults of the northern Indians. Virginia at once fulfilled her promise, and Fort Loudon on the Tennessee was built the same summer.

In the spring of 1757 when the long promised Indian aid arrived it was found to consist of but 400 warriors and of these only 180 remained at the fort at Winchester, the others immediately returning home. They had evidently become disaffected towards the Virginians through French influence, and now were bent upon mischief, for in their march back and forth through Virginia they committed many acts of violence upon the inhabitants, and slew and tomahawked[1] one of their own members in Col. Clement Read's yard.

When they reached western Halifax and Bedford Counties they became bolder in their defiant attitude and robbed the inhabitants of their horses, plundered their homes, and offered brutal insults to their persons.

The people of Halifax were placed in a most trying position, for it was well known and understood that the Cherokees were our friends and allies, and that their warriors had marched to our aid; yet here were marauding bands of more than a hundred warriors straying over the country and boldly robbing the inhabitants, who hesitated to offer resistance to the intruders for fear of provoking them to war. We may know that the Cherokees were keenly sensible of the plight in which these Virginians were placed, for they remained several weeks terrorizing the countryside.

A letter[2] of Colonel Fontaine to relatives in England, dated June 11, 1757, said: "Those of the Indians that call themselves our friends do despise us, and in their march through our inhabited country, when going to our assistance, insult and annoy. It is not above a month ago since a party of about a hundred and twenty Cherokees, in passing through Lunenburg insulted people of all ranks."

When Col. Read[3] notified the Governor of the presence and behavior of the Cherokees his Excellency advised reasoning with them in a mild way for fear of provoking them to open warfare, which he said "would prove of fatal consequences; however the people are not to be robbed and insulted."

But when the people, acting upon the Governor's advice, attempted to reason with the Indians, their peaceful overtures were repulsed and bloodshed followed.

A letter[4] from the Governor to Col. Fontaine, County Lieutenant, in regard to the situation stated:

"Sir,— May 7, 1757.

I received y'r L're of April 20, last night and am very sorry for the aprehensions the frontiers are under an attack from the Indians. It is a surprise to me that the People allow Indians to come so frequently among them: the very examining of the Co'try and the Peoples Houses was Suspicion Sufficient to raise the militia and Take 'em all Prisoners. I approve of your sending out James Dillard with fifty men; and please order him to continue out aranging."

The citizens of Bedford County petitioned[5] to be allowed to kill the Indians, and asked for soldiers to be stationed among them for protection but their petition was denied in the hope of preventing open conflict.

Governor Dinwiddie's term of office expired January, 1758, and Mr Blair, president of the Council, became the presiding official of the colony until the arrival of Governor Fauquier in the following June. Blair ordered an investigation into the origin of the troubles in Halifax and Bedford Counties with the Cherokees, and for this purpose a especial court was held at Mayes Ferry (now Booker's Ferry), on Staunton River in Halifax County, on June 1, 1758, when the following depositions were taken of those who had suffered from Indian outrages or taken part in the conflicts with them: (Re- Moytoy's Indians)

"Halifax County } At Mays's Ferry on Staunton River June the 1st
to-wit— } 1758, was taken by Order of Mr. President Blair—The State cause and process of the three several Engagements.

--cont'd on next page

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[1] Dinwiddie Papers, Vol. 2, p. 600.

[2] "Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," by Maury.

had between several parties of militia of Halifax and Bedford Counties, in Company with part of Captain Hawkin's men, with several parties of Indians in their march thro' those Counties which is as followeth, to-wit,

John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman Junr, Robert Jones Junr, and Henry Snow being first sworn, as to the first of the three Engagements they deposed in Substance as followeth.

First John Wheeler aged about 50, John Hall and Richard Thompson aged about 25 each, swore that having been robbed of some Horses sometime in the begining of May, being at a neighbours House, were informed by him, that several Indians were seen to pass thro' the Neighbourhood with a great number of packed Horses, and that several other Horses were missing of that Neighbourhood, to the number of 20 at least That they had Robbed several Houses, and had as was supposed murther'd or—Captivated a family near that Neighbourhood, as the family was missing, and could not be heard of, and that they called themselves Shawanees; Whereupon these three Deponents with four others agreed to go after the Indians, and in a friendly manner demand the Horses, and other things Stolen; That these three Deponents, being on Horse back, the rest on foot, came up with the Indians, And the Deponent Wheeler calling them Brothers, desired to treat with them. The Indians painted and sullen, put themselves in a posture for Battle, And sternly asked if they were for War, The Deponents replied they were not, That they were friends and Brothers and desired peace and quiet delivery of their Horses, and asked the Indians of what Nation they were; upon that they instantly set up the War Whoop; The deponent Wheeler seeing his Horse in the Hands of an Indian took hold of the Bridle, and whilst they were strugling for him, other Indians came up and seized him and the Horse he rode, which he was forced to quit to them after receiving several Blows with a Tomahawke—fled on foot, three Indians pursued him, and three Guns were fired, as he supposed at him and his Companions, as he heard a Bullet whistle by him, and he and his Companions made their escape without any other Hurt or loss, then that of two more Horses, which were then taken from them by the Enemy, That in their flight they met the rest of the Company on Foot, coming to them upon which reinforcement, they came to a resolution once more to follow the Indians, and being joyned afterwards by a few others, did so, making up the Number Eleven tho' some of those Eleven were without Guns, That they came to Staunton River, and when there, these several Deponents, to-wit; John Wheeler, William Verdiman, John Hall, Richard Thompson, William Verdiman, Junr, Robert Jones, Junr, and Henry Snow, Swear that when they arrived at the River Bank they as they imagined heard the Indians WarHalloo on the other side, that they proceeded to pass the River, that when they gott over, on rising the Bank on the other side, they found a small fire just kindled, and at some little distance from thence, they observed the Enemy, upon which all the Deponents say that Old William Verdiman aged about sixty, went foremost, and that they all followed close at his heels, that when they came

> up to the Enemy they found they had tyed their Horses, pretty many in Number to the Bushes, that most of the Indians were painted and others then painting, some black some Red, but mostly black, that when they came near Old Verdiman pulled off his Hatt and Bowed and accosted them in terms of peace, and Friendship, and said Gentlemen we come in a Brotherly manner to ask you for our Horses, and other Goods, that you have taken from us, that the Indians gave a kind of a Grunt, and appeared determined for mischief, stripped themselves threw out the priming of their Guns, fresh primed and Cocked them, struck their Tomahawks into Trees, and in an angry manner demanded of the Deponents if they would fight; that whilst Verdiman who was still uncovered Bowing and Treating with them, the Enemy Indeavored to Inviron them, and had actually got them into a half Circle before the Deponents were aware upon which, and young Verdiman observing that two Indians had pointed their Guns, they the Deponents all retreated backwards with their Faces to the Enemy, and took to trees, that on their retreat, the Indians threw their Tomahawks, and that two of them narrowly missed two of their men, that one of them would have hitt Old Verdiman, but that he luckely parried it with an Elder Stick he had in his hand (for he was one of the number of those that had no Guns) and the Indians pursuing and they retreating in Order, they were near drove to the River Banck, where they must have inevitably perished had they then attempted to have crossed, that on the retreat a Gun was fired upon which the Engagement insued, and many Guns discharged on both sides, in which Engagement the Father of John Hall one of the deponents fell, and being mortally wounded soon after died, that during the Engagement those of the Deponents who had Guns were obliged to fly from tree to tree to one another for a shott of Powder and Lead both being very scarce among them, that in the Engagement three Indians fell, that at last their Powder and Lead being Expended they fled back over the River in different places, and being all met again on the other side, they went to a Neighbours House, supplied themselves with more Ammunition, and went back again to place where the Engagement was to look for their wounded friend, who they found expiring, three Indians dead in the Field and much plunder, that they scalped the Indians, threw their dead Bodies into the River, and brought away their dying friend and the plunder, and that their Friend soon after dyed, the account of Spoil found in the Field consisting of Horses. Saddles, Bridles, Mens, and Womans apparel &c., is herewith sent Contained in two papers Numbered 1. 2.

The other two depositions run on in the same vein, except that the other encounters seem to have been a little later, and the subsequent frontiersmen, gradually losing patience, were not so forebearing as Old Mr. Verdiman.

Staunton River, where the confrontation occurred, is clearly shown in the map near the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER NINE - CAPTAIN PEARIS OF THE 5th MARYLAND PROVINCIALS

If we were being strict, we would have to admit that the events in the previous chapter all happened after Richard had been commissioned a Maryland captain; but this segment begins with his assumption of his command at Fort Cumberland as a leader of white soldiers, sometime after the Virginians evacuated the fort on 7 May 1757, taking with them their Indian interpreters. Governor Sharpe felt that he could kill two birds with one stone by having a captain who could also serve as an interpreter when necessary, in addition to his regular duties in a new company being raised "under Colo. Stanwix command," as he put it, since the Virginians already had so many interpreters they would scarcely miss this good one. (Relations between the two governments were civil but restrained.)

The only roster of Maryland troops under Captain Richard Pearis is from October 1757 to 31 May 1758, when Governor Sharpe, though he did not believe the charges leveled by Acting Virginia Governor Blair, disbanded his company and distributed his men under the other companies. He then went on special duty for General John Forbes under Colonel Bouquet and others, leading scouting parties and so on.

Complete rosters of all of the service of the Maryland troops in the French and Indian War have not been preserved, just those from 9 October 1757 until they were disbanded. The reason even these were saved has to do with finances, for the reasons explained in Maryland Historical Magazine 5:271 et seq., issue of 10 Sep 1910.

"That the..roster of Maryland troops in the French and Indian war has been preserved to us is due to the disputes between the two branches of the Assembly and to their differences with Governor Sharpe. The lower house always expressed a willingness to make provisions for a small body of provincial troops, but on terms which the upper house consistently refused to accept; or if the two houses by chance agreed on any plan, it was one that the Governor could not accept without yielding some prerogative of the Proprietary. Braddock's defeat aroused the Assembly to action, and at the February session of 1756, after much bickering, the sum of £40,000 was voted for His Majesty's service. At subsequent sessions the Assembly declined to do more than provide for the support of 300 Militia, who could not be sent beyond Fort Frederick nor used as a fixed garrison for Fort Cumberland. Captain Dagworthy was given the command of the Maryland troops sent to the frontiers of Frederick County in 1754, and in 1756 took part in the construction of Fort Frederick. Fort Cumberland, though a Royal Fort, had been built by Virginians on Maryland soil, which may account for the objection of the Assembly to providing a garrison and for the later dispute as to precedence in command between Colonel Washington and Colonel Dagworthy.

"The correspondence of Governor Sharpe fully covers this period. It appears that he at first supported the Maryland troops by advancing money on the supposition that he would be reimbursed; later he maintained them through private subscription; and finally as the ledger shows, from money advanced by General Amherst.

The roster below covers only a short period of Captain Richard Pearis's Maryland service, but is the only one found so far.

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service

Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
1	Captain	Pearis, Richard	
2	1st/Lieut	McRae, Duncan	
3	2d/Lieut	McArthur, Thomas	
4	Ensign	Skinner, Henry	
1	Private	Anderson, John	
2	"	Benyan, Parslew	
3	"	Brinkley, James	
4	"	Brown, George	
5	"	Brown, James	
6	"	Brown, Richard	
7	"	Bennet, John	
8	"	Barrett, Thomas	
9	"	Barker, Thomas	
10	Corporal	Colmore, Geo:	
11	Private	Craig, Geo:	Oct 24, 1757/May 31, 1758, 220 days
12	"	Colvill, Joseph	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
13	"	Creswell, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/May 8, 1758, 211 days, deserted
14	"	Dennis, John	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
15	"	Davis, Even	
16	"	Davis, David	
17	"	Evens, William	
18	"	Egleston, Abram	
19	"	Fryer, William	
20	"	Freeman, Richard	
21	"	Field, Mathew	
22	"	Fitzpatrick, Thomas	
23	"	Genaler, John	
24	"	Grey, James	
25	"	Godson, James	
26	"	Gelstrap, William	
27	"	Goodwin, Mathew	
28	"	Hamilton, John	
29	"	Hillen, Jacob	
30	"	Hazard, Michael	
31	"	Hobson, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
32	"	Hamilton, James	
33	"	Hill, Silvester	
34	"	Harben, Anthony	
35	"	Howard, Richard	
36	"	Hodgins, Robert	
37	"	Hope, Henry	
38	"	Higgs, John	
39	"	Jones, Nehemiah	
40	Corporal	Johnson, Andrew	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 26, 1757, reduced Nov 18, 1757, deserted
41	Drummer	Jones, Joseph	
42	Private	King, William	
43	"	Love, Aaron	
44	"	Locker, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
45	"	Lego, Charles	
46	"	Lawson, John	
47	"	Lee, John	
48	Serjeant	Monroe, Alex:	
49	Corporal	Moodie, Hugh	
50	Private	Martin, Thomas	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 25, 1758, died

Roster of Captain Richard Pearis' Company of Maryland Troops, Oct 9, 1757 to May 31, 1758, 235 days service (Cont'd)

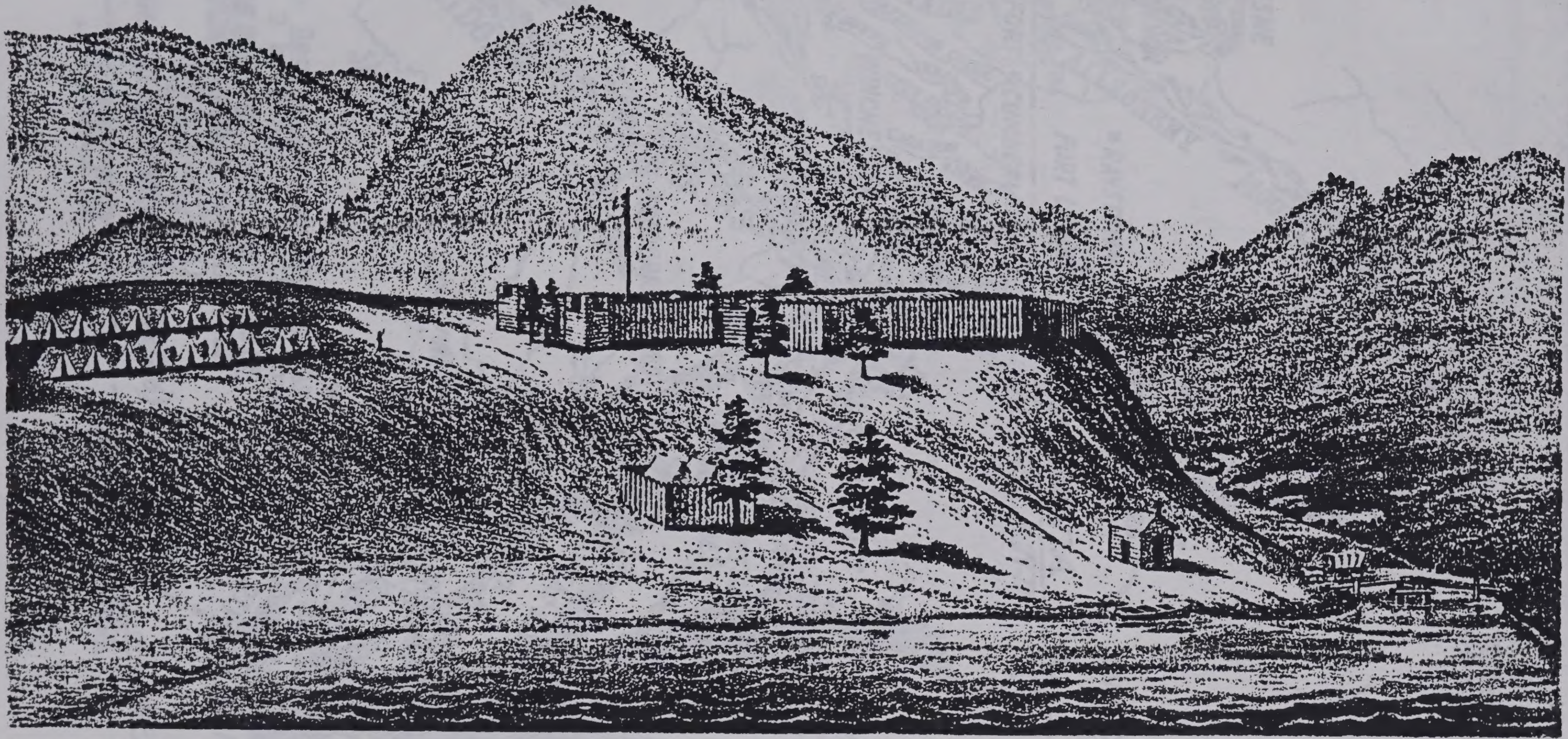
Nr	Rank	Name	Remarks (Period of Service)
51	Private	Mass, John Baptist	
52	"	Mason, William	
53	"	Mills, William	
54	"	Maken, John	
55	"	McCubin, W:m	
56	"	Mason, Edward	
57	"	May, Edward	
58	Serjeant	Naylor, Joshua	
59	Private	Naylor, Benjamin	
60	"	Noyer, Thomas	
61	"	Pettit, Lewis	
62	"	Perkins, John	
63	"	Porter, Hugh	
64	"	Peckerel, Samuel	
65	"	Paulin, Robert	
66	"	Queen, Richard	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
67	"	Reymour, William	
68	"	Robert, Isaac	
69	"	Robinson, Charles	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
70	"	Rowles, Thomas	
71	"	Rally, Isaac	
72	"	Robert, John	
73	"	Reymour, Joseph	
74	"	Rhodes, Thomas	
75	"	Spekernel, Robert	Oct 9, 1757/Oct 22, 1757, 13 days, died
76	"	Stillworth, John	Oct 9, 1757/Apr 4, 1758, 177 days, deserted
77	"	Shaw, Robert	
78	"	Sasser, Benjamin	Oct 9, 1757/Nov 23, 1757, 45 days, deserted
79	"	Suelor, Charles	
80	"	Simpson, Anthony	
81	"	Surratt, Joseph	
82	"	Stephens, Solomon	
83	Corporal	Sapp, Robert	promoted Nov 19, 1758
84	Private	Tycer, John	
85	"	Turney, Charles	
86	Serjeant	Vaughan, W:m	
87	Private	Williams, John	
88	"	Wattson, Walter	
89	"	Willson, Thomas, Jun.	Oct 26, 1757/May 31, 1758
90	"	Waters, James	
91	"	Woolridge, Roger	
92	"	Watts, Samuel	
93	Corporal	Willis, John	

Attest: David Ross

[MHS:375]

From Book, Colonial Soldiers of the South
by Murtie June Clark (GPC)

Fort Cumberland would have been considerably enlarged by the time Captain Richard Pearis came there in 1757, but this old painting shows the site. It was situated on Will's Creek close to the Potomac.

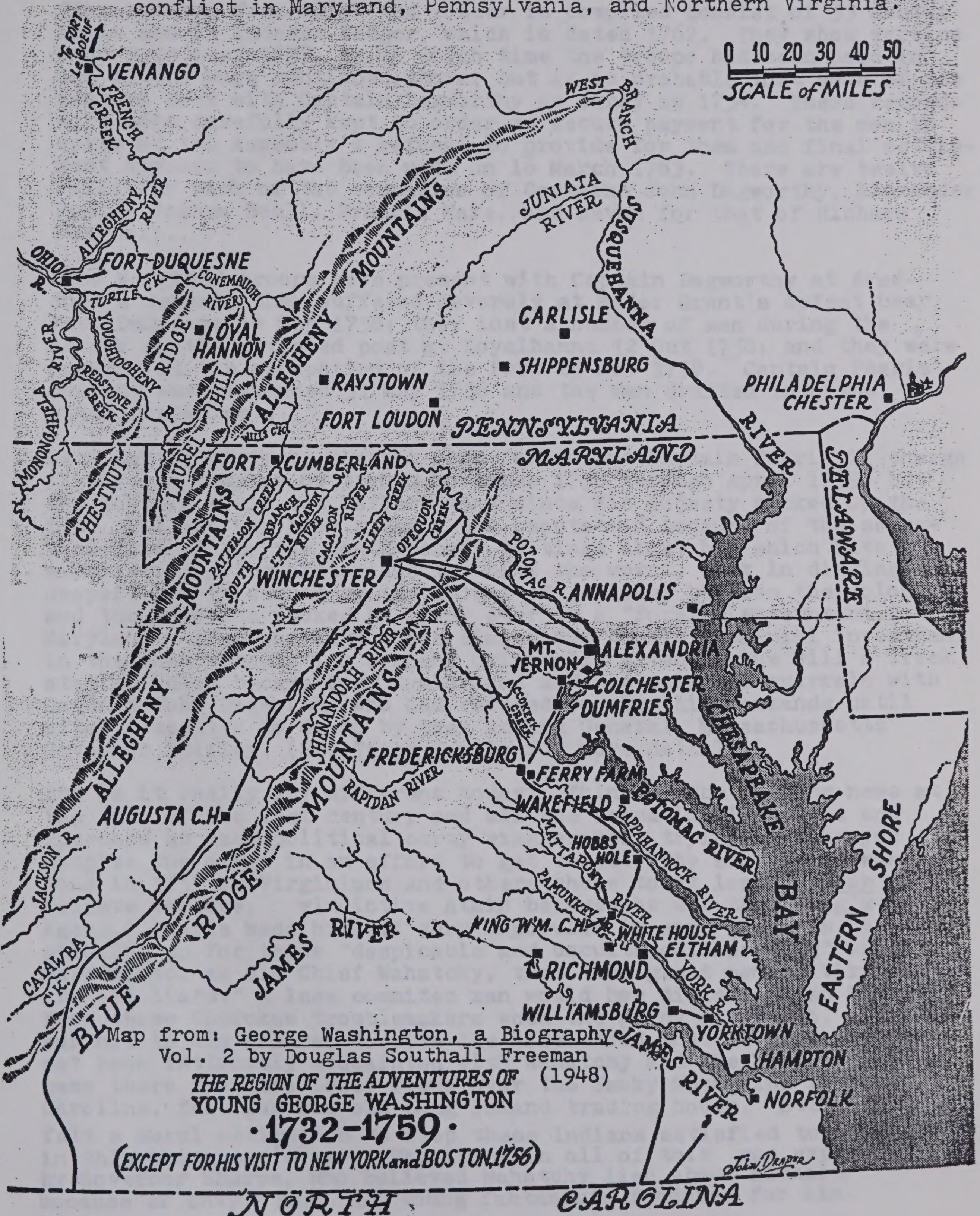


Lith. by A Hoen & Co. [illegible]

LOWDERMILK'S HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND.

FORT CUMBERLAND 1755.
From foot of Nobley.

This map provides a pretty good overall view of scenes of the conflict in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Northern Virginia.


THE REGION OF THE ADVENTURES OF
YOUNG GEORGE WASHINGTON
·1732–1759·
(EXCEPT FOR HIS VISIT TO NEW YORK and BOSTON, 1756)
0 10 20 30 40 50
SCALE of MILES
Le BOEUF
VENANGO
FRENCH CREEK
ALLEGHENY RIVER
OHIO R.
FORT DUQUESNE
TURTLE C'K.
CONEMAUGH RIVER
LOYAL HANNON
YOUGHIOGHENY R.
REDSTONE CREEK
MONONGAHELA RIVER
RIDGE
LAUREL HILL
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS
WEST BRANCH
JUNIATA RIVER
SUSQUEHANNA RIVER
CARLISLE
SHIPPENSBURG
RAYSTOWN
FORT LOUDON
PHILADELPHIA
CHESTER
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
WILLS CK.
FORT CUMBERLAND
CHESTNUT RIDGE
LAUREL MOUNTAINS
PATTERSON CREEK
SOUTH BRANCH
L'TLE CACAPON RIVER
CACAPON RIVER
SLEEPY CREEK
OPEQUON CREEK
WINCHESTER
POTOMAC R.
ANNAPOLIS
MT. VERNON
ALEXANDRIA
COLCHESTER
DUMFRIES
ACCOTINK CREEK
ALLEGHENY
SHENANDOAH RIVER
MOUNTAINS
FREDERICKSBURG
FERRY FARM
WAKEFIELD
POTOMAC RIVER
CHESAPEAKE BAY
RAPIDAN RIVER
AUGUSTA C.H.
JACKSON R.
HOBBS HOLE
MATTAPONY RIVER
RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER
PAMUNKEY RIVER
KING WM. C.H.
WHITE HOUSE
ELTHAM
JAMES RIVER
RICHMOND
YORK R.
WILLIAMSBURG
YORKTOWN
HAMPTON
NORFOLK
EASTERN SHORE
CATAWBA C'K.
BLUE RIDGE
NORTH CAROLINA
John Draper

Map from: George Washington, a Biography
Vol. 2 by Douglas Southall Freeman (1948)

"The records from which the roster is compiled consist of 53 muster rolls and an indexed ledger, which is dated 1762. They show service from 9 October 1757, up to which time the troops had been paid in one of the ways mentioned above; but it is probable that some of the men had been with Captain Dagworthy as early as 1754. These records were most carefully kept in order to secure payment for the men in spite of the Assembly's refusal to provide for them and final settlement appears to have been made on 16 March 1763. There are twelve rolls for each of the companies of Captains John Dagworthy, Alexander Beall, Joshua Beall, Francis Ware, and seven for that of Richard Pearis.....

"The Maryland troops were present with Captain Dagworthy at Braddock's defeat; they suffered severely at Major Grant's defeat near Fort DuQuesne 14 Sep 1758; they lost a number of men during the attack on the advanced post at Loyalhanna 12 Oct 1758; and they were present at the occupation of the Fort 25 Nov 1758. Captain Pearis' company was disbanded 31 May 1758 and the men drafted into the other companies...."

As a matter of fact, General John Forbes put Captain Pearis in charge of his own company of troops November 1758 through April 1759, but the rosters would not reflect that since His Majesty picked up the tab. Richard has been given a bad reputation because of the sensationalism of the few contemporary writings about him which have survived, leaving historians to think the worst. But in digging deeper, one is struck by the amount of jealousy between the colonies and the anger he evoked by going over to a "foreign government," Maryland. Even Washington was biased due to his financial investment in the land speculation company originally sited at the Will's Creek station which became Fort Cumberland and his personal quarrels with Captain John Dagworthy who had refused to obey his commands until after compelled to do so by then Acting General, Massachussetts Governor Shirley. (See Teter Family for more details.)

But is it really any different today? Think of the evening news at the turn of the 21st century and all the sensational stories and speeches as each political party exaggerates, trying to make you despise the other in an effort to get votes. The same thing was true in 1757 as Virginians and others chose to at least appear to believe verbose, vindictive Atkin because he was the "King's Agent." Pearis made himself very unpopular in some quarters by sticking up for those "despicable and uncultured Cherokees" who maintained, as did Chief Wahatchy, that "the great men of Virginia are all liars." A less commited man would have disassociated himself from those Cherokee troublemakers when the going got tough, but that was not in his nature, despite the likelihood that he probably had not been intimately acquainted with Wahatchy and the Swallow, who came there from the Lower Towns over the Smoky Mountains in South Carolina, far from his old Long Island trading house. Still, he felt a moral obligation to keep these Indians satisfied to help out in this white man's war. The irony in all of this was expressed by Governor Sharpe, who believed Wahatchy lied about Richard because of envy due to young Yahtanou's fondness for him.

The Cherokee dilemma in 1757/8 must have been due to cultural clash and misunderstanding on both sides. The group had been urged to go north by South Carolina Governor Lyttleton who, unlike his predecessor, wanted to assist in the war effort as the British ministry requested, but did not feel safe in letting white troops leave. Even that early there were a great many more African slaves in the South Carolina low country than there were white colonists, and all the people there deathly afraid of an insurrection of dissatisfied blacks. That plus French interference in the sparsely-settled upcountry. The few troops at Fort Prince George were badly needed at home.

The crux of Cherokee dissatisfaction has to have been their misunderstanding of the promises made to them in 1756 by Virginia commissioners William Byrd and Peter Randolph, who made extravagant claims of the rewards they would receive if they would come to fight the Shawnees, and in comparing these with lavish gifts of French seeking the same allies. Very few Cherokees couldread a written treaty, and as word of the showy proceedings spread from brave to brave,the terms must have been exaggerated and expectations too great. Why else but through misconception would they have expected presents from frontier courthouses along the way like Halifax and Bedford? But they did, and were enraged when nothing was forthcoming. Pearis not having been present at the negotiations, could not explain it to them satisfactorily.

But does it really make sense to believe that Wahatchy and the first groups really came all that way just to get credit at several locations for a few scalps already taken? Or really there under French influence just to make trouble? There were far easier, more lucrative ways to do that, and they knew it. Does it not seem instead that, while ruling Virginians regarded the Cherokees as their servants with a moral obligation to assist them in their white man's war, the Cherokees considered themselves free agents--to fight or not, but to obtain whatever was most to their own advantage, be it French, English, or neutral, and that if indulged even though they did not truly earn it, would have made pretty good allies? Contemporary private comments seem to indicate many thought so but did not interfere. The upshot of all of this, not gone into in this Pearis Family story, but told in detail in the Teter Family story because Richard's son-in-law, Sergeant George Teter fought in it, was an expensive prolonged war against the Cherokees which could have been prevented if Atkin had not been so parsimonious with His Majesty's purse.

Some of the following is review, though most is not, but to tell the story accurately it is needful to establish a timeline, since the histories do not all agree. We will do this by quoting letters written at the time, many printed in Washington Papers, from which we see that Dinwiddie, to appease Col. Clement Reade and others angry at Wahatchy's group; and to obtain financial benefits from the new Indian Agent angry at having been "stood up" without an interpreter, was ready to discharge him as a scapegoat. But our Richard beat him to the punch by having already taken a Maryland commission.

Even Washington wrote to Dinwiddie, "That Capt Pearis has misbehaved I verily believe. He has taken a Commission in the maryland Forces which I think pretty extraordinary on every account. However, as your Honor has empowered Mr. Atkin to enquire into his misbehavior, I did not interfere or concern myself in any shape with him." But it would have been only natural had Washington had felt a little rebuffed that Pearis had left his command unannounced. At any rate, the number of Virginia captancies had just been reduced to only seven, listed a few pages back, and Richard certainly was not one of them, never yet having been in charge of a fort, so would have been demoted anyway. Andrew Lewis, a major, was not affected. It does appear Richard planned well in the nick of time.

On 5 May 1757, Virginia reluctantly turned possession of Fort Cumberland over to Maryland. On this day Governor Horatio Sharpe wrote Dinwiddie that Capt. John Dagworthy with 150 men of the Maryland forces had taken possession of the provisions and stores turned over to him by Col. Adam Stephen and the departing Virginia forces. "He informs me," Sharpe wrote, "that the Beef left by the Virginia forces is so bad that the Men will not touch it & that he is obliged to victual them entirely with Fish till a fresh Supply of Provisions can be sent him from Fort Frederick. You will be pleased to write to Colo. Washington & to give him orders to remove or destroy the Beef as you shall think proper." Dinwiddie did not get Sharpe's letter until 29 May, and on 1 June wrote that "Adam Stephen assures me that there was no complaints of the Provisions, but a small Cask of Beef that has lost the Pickle..."

At the same time Richard left Winchester with Wahatchy and Yahtanou for Fort Frederick, Maryland, the Swallow and his party (in spite of his sentiments expressed to Captain Mercer) left with Major Lewis to go to Fort Cumberland, and for their interpreter used the service of Richard Smith, the "excellent interpreter" who wrote the letter shown in the previous chapter. He was a brother of Indian trader Abraham Smith, mentioned in Chapter five as the unsuccessful first envoy, disliked by the Cherokees, whom Dinwiddie had sent in 1755 in his initial recruitment efforts.

We have already read of the heroic deeds ofthe courageous Swallow, who died soon after that near Fort Duquesne, having shot several French as well as taking captives, but was himself shot in battle. Though successful, his grief-stricken braves were overtaken with panic. Washington had written, "Major Lewis cou'd not prevail with theCherokee Indians to take out with them more than 8 days provisions, the consequence of which he is come in with a part of them. There are yet out two parties; one of which consisting of 20 Indians and 10 soldiers, under Capt. Spotswood, are gone toward Fort du Quesne; the other amounts to 15 Indians and 5 Soldiers, under Lt. Baker, bent their course for Log's-Town." He also refers to Indian stores, that in his absence Adam Stephen gave out 122 Indian

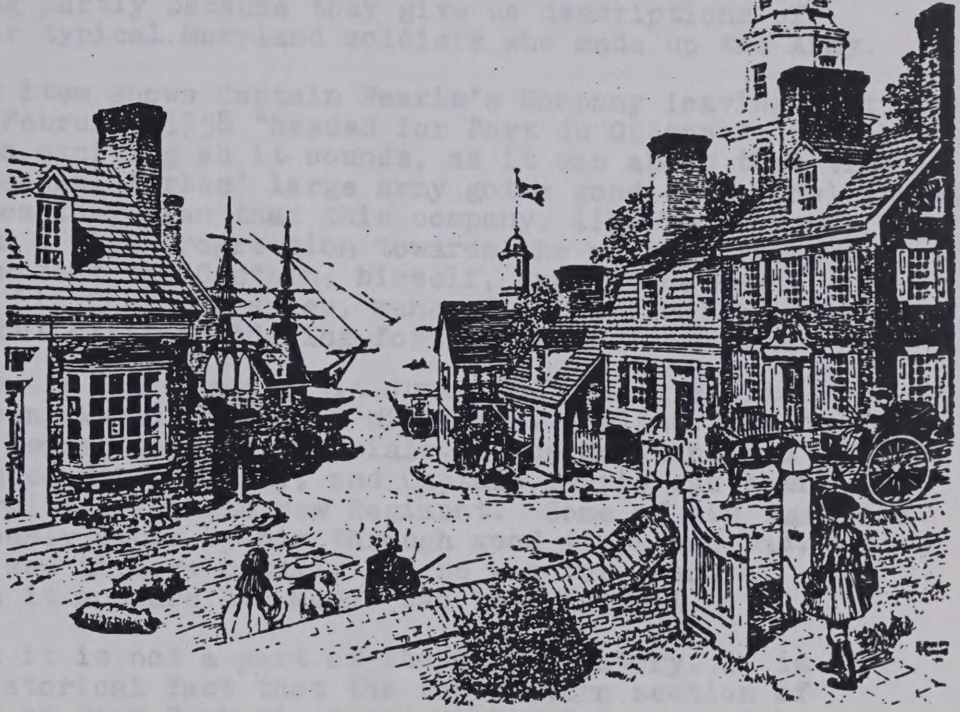
blankets but there were also several pieces of dutch blanketing--might they have permission to use them after the Indians were supplied? Also about the state of Beef at Fort Cumberland. "I was all along apprehensive that this wou'd be the consequence of Mr. Walker's absence," and that he got no cooperation from Mr. Rutherford who would not act without Walker's orders. (Not to give the story away further along, but this was the noted Dr. Thomas Walker of the Loyal Land Company, now official provisioner of the Virginia army, and later he, Pearis, and Major Andrew Lewis would be in business in a later land company.)

On 13 May 1757 Richard Pearis wrote Col. John Armstrong of the Pennsylvania forces that "on the 1st of this instant I came into this Province (Pennsylvania) with a Party of Cherokees headed by Wahatchy and Yahtanou, in pursuit of some French Indians that had committed some Murders on Potomack, wch Enemies I pursued for several Days, but not having the fortune to come up with that Party, fell in with another Party, as I suppose about 20, out of which we killed 4 and took Two Prisoners, which Prisoners I have here now. I expect tomorrow to march to Fort Frederick, where I expect to meet Governor Sharp, who is to treat with the Cherokees; I wou'd be glad to meet you there."

Armstrong and others from Pennsylvania arrived at Fort Frederick on 17 May, and on 18-19 May held a conference with the two Cherokee leaders, and with Marylanders sent by Governor Sharpe. Richard Pearis acted as interpreter at the conference. The Cherokees accepted presents from the Marylanders and gave a list of the presents they wished to receive from Gov. William Denny of Pennsylvania. Details of the colorful ceremonies with Sharpe's ambassadors, Wolstenholme and Ridout, were presented in the previous chapter. (This is just a sequential review of events.)

Now we reach a long spell when Richard, not being one of them, is not mentioned by Washington. Governor Sharpe, not a military man, does not, either, but was constantly importuning British commanders and his own Assembly for defense funds. He was much concerned about the soldiers. A little of the gap is filled in with Maryland Gazette items shown here, proving that Richard was in charge of troops by 23 June 1757 or before; and by photocopies of Assembly proceedings photocopied from Maryland Archives regarding funding. Most such were too long and involved (also too boring) to permit inclusion here, but one can learn a lot from them. For instance, that women in armies are no new 20th-century invention--four women were allowed to each company during the French & Indian War, though not as warriors and there were female cooks and female nurses in addition to male orderlies, surgeons, gunsmiths, armorers, and countless other personnel not listed. When one adds waggoners, suppliers, drovers, food provisioners for man and beasts, it quickly becomes apparent that managing an army was complicated indeed. One sympathizes with Lt. Curry, Aide to the Quartermaster-General, some of whose letters are coming up later.

Right -
Scene on
the
Annapolis
Waterfront.



The Maryland Gazette 1727-1767, Karen Mauer Green (1989) Frontier Press, Galveston

page of book/date/issue #/text

195 - Thurs 23 June 1757 #633...A soldier deserted from Lieut. Duncan McRae: Joseph Mchugh, age about 25, was born in the lower part of Prince George County, near Patuxent. Deliver to Capt. Richard Pearis or Lieut. McRae.

196 - Thurs 21 July 1757 #637...Several deserters are reported from the Maryland companies of Capt. Francis Ware and Capt. Richard Pearis: William Jones (about age 30, a carpenter, born in Prince William County, Virginia), John Brightwell (a out age 20, born in Prince George's County), William Owen (about age 19, born in Maryland), John M'Cullum (about age 18), Rezin Rickets (Anne Arundel County, about 22) and John Genneter (about age 20, a glazier and painter, born in London, enlisted in Charles County).

205 - Thurs 16 Feb 1758 #667...Capt. Pearis and his company went from Fort Cumberland at the end of January, headed for Fort du Quesne.

227 - Thurs 14 June 1759 #736...Capt. Richard Pearis, of the Pennsylvania Provincials, now recruiting in Annapolis, reports a deserter named Thomas Fowler, born in Wiltshire in England, aged 22 years, by trade a weaver.

The illustration presented, shows four items extracted from the early weekly periodical, The Maryland Gazette. The first two news items, on 23 June and 25 July 1757, predate the roster commencing on 9 October 1757, and show that Capt. Pearis and Lt. McRae must have been assigned to their own company early June or before. Both items reported desertions of soldiers, and were likely published with a view to their apprehensions. These are interesting partly because they give us descriptions of probably rather typical Maryland soldiers who made up the Army.

The third news item shows Captain Pearis's Company leaving Fort Cumberland in February 1758 "headed for Fort du Quesne." Probably that was not so exciting as it sounds, as it was about that time that most of General Forbes' large army got a good (but slow) start, and one presumes they mean that this company, like the others, also started on a slow progression towards the ultimate target (though we know that the Captain, himself, due to the keen observances of his Cherokee spies, managed to be first to enter the abandoned but still smoldering fort later on.)

The fourth item in the Gazette, in June 1759, also reports a deserter, a young Marylander from Wiltshire, England, but he must have left the Pennsylvania Provincials, since Maryland had already disbanded its own army, and Captain Pearis was there in Annapolis recruiting for his new Regiment. Some of his Maryland men had previously stuck by him through good times and bad, as we shall soon see in more detail, and he was very good at recruiting, as it appears Lt. McRae had been as well.

(Note: Though it is not a part of the present story, it is an interesting historical fact that the far western section of Maryland--west of Fort Cumberland and Will's Creek--was then claimed by both Maryland and Virginia. Virginia also claimed the adjacent part of Pennsylvania, including the new Fort Pitt--also, of course rightfully claimed by Pennsylvania. The Teter Family story, pages 13-14, tell a little more about that subject.)

The little drawing of the Annapolis waterfront, used as a frontispiece in Mrs. Green's book, contains an amusing little homey touch very typical of that time. Cities like Annapolis, Philadelphia, and many others of that era, kept their streets clean by allowing pigs to roam loose and eat up all the garbage which otherwise collected. Geese could have served the purpose, but they were messier and likely to peck hard when disturbed. Pigs were better.

Official Maryland Provincial records do not provide the day-to-day details we need to learn about the life of Captain Pearis. Neither do any of the Maryland histories (even county histories) found so far. The following pages from the Maryland Archives though concerned primarily with financing the Army, are somewhat informative about makeup of the troops, etc.

From - Archives of Maryland Vol VIII (37) pp 261-3 Lower House Assembly Proc. for Nov. 11, 1757

Cr.

By Money raised by the Act for his Majesty's Service in February 1756, and appropriated by that and the Act in September following, to be laid out in Rewards for Indian Scalps and Prisoners,....	£4000 0 0
	£4000 0 0

That the Agents aforesaid have, pursuant to the Act of Assembly, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence and security of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province, passed in September Session 1756, paid unto sundry Persons for Provisions by them furnished to the Detachments of Militia under the Command of Capt. Tobias Stansbury of Baltimore County, and Joshua Beall of Prince-George's County, the Sum of £235 17 8 and p. 73 as there was no particular Sum of Money appropriated for that Service by the aforesaid Act, it must be charged against any Surplus Money which may remain in the Agents Hands, arising out of the Sums appropriated by that and the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in February Session 1756.

Your Committee beg Leave to acquaint the Honourable House, that the foregoing Accounts are extracted from the Books kept by the Agents, in Compliance with the Directions of the Acts of Assembly passed in February and September Sessions 1756, for his Majesty's Service, and the Defence of the Western Frontier; and the following Accounts and Observations are drawn from an Examination into the Books kept in Pursuance of an Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made in a Session of Assembly held at Baltimore-Town in April 1757: In the Course of which Examination we find, that the Sum of £10469 17 4 (or so much of that Sum which might then have been in the Hands of the Commissioners or Trustees for Emitting Bills of Credit, &c.) granted and applied by the last mentioned Act to the Raising, Cloathing, Paying, and Subsisting 500 Men, in the Pay of this Province, for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Western Frontiers thereof, the Agents aforesaid have received from the Commissioners afore namd, by Virtue of sundry Orders drawn by his Excellency the Governor for that Purpose, the Sum of £8350 which has been expended and applied, as will appear from a View of the following Accounts, to wit.

The Public on the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. passed in the Baltimore Session.

Dr.

To Sundries as follows, viz.[t]		
✓ Pay of Pearis's, Ware's, Alexander and Joshua Beall's Companies, to the 8th September 1757,..		£2555 15 8
Ditto of Dagworthy's Company to the 8th May, 1757, ...		149 4 11
Victualling 4 Companies to the 8th September,.....		1672 5 0
Ditto for Dagworthy's Company from 11th April to 8th July,..............................		299 11 0
Cloathing 5 Companies as above,..................		1431 12 1
Bounty Money paid for 173 Men,................		859 19 0
Hospital Account, ...		76 15 3
Expresses, ...		40 3 6
Petty Charges, ...		22 15 5
Waggon Hire, ...		5 0 0
To Ballance, viz.[t]		
Bounty Money in the Hands of Recruiting Officers unaccounted for,.	£657 3 2	
Cash in the Agents Hands unapplied,	579 15 0	1236 18 2
		£8350 0 0

Cr.

By Cash at sundry Times taken out of the Office for Emitting Bills of Credit, by Orders of the Governor, ...	£8350 0 0
	£8350 0 0

Your Committee think themselves obliged to observe to the Honourable House, that of the Bounty-Money abovementioned, the Sum p. of £300 was delivered to Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae for the Recruiting Service, and the Sum of £50 to Ensign Burr Harrison, £100 to Ensign Alexander Somerville, and £30 to Ensign Rezin Beall, for the same Service; for which Sums, by the Terms of the Act for his Majesty's Service, &c. made at Baltimore Session, the Agents ought to have taken Bond with proper Security, conditioned for accounting for said Sums agreeable to the Directions of said Act; but upon Enquiry, we cannot find that Ensigns Burr Harrison, Alexander Somerville, or Rezin Beall, gave any Bond for the Sums aforesaid, or that Lieutenant Duncan M'Rae gave Bond with Security as aforesaid, for any more than £200. In which Instance, we conceive, the Agents have not complied with their Duty, pursuant to the Directions of the Act aforesaid.

From the preceding Account, please to observe, that only £149 4 11 has been applied to the Payment of Captain Dagworthy's Company till the 8th of May last, and the further Sum of £299 11 towards the Subsistence of said Company till the 8th July; since which Time no other Accounts relative to the Support of that Company appear on the Agents Books; and by the Certificates endorsed on the Rolls of that Company, your Committee find, that they were mustered at Fort Cumberland; and think it their Duty to acquaint the House, that from the Appearance the Muster Rolls of the other Companies make, there is great Room to suspect, that many of the Men that composed those Companies, and are certified to be on Detachment and Party, have likewise been stationed at Fort Cumberland; and that this Matter may more clearly appear to the House, your Committee have drawn up Lists from the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander ✓ and Joshua Beall's, Capt. Pearis's and Ware's Companies, shewing the State and Condition each Individual Person appeared in at the Time of the several Musters made for the Months of June, July, August, and September; from which Lists (herewith delivered in) it p. will appear, that except in a very few Instances, the same Men that were certified to be on Detachment, Party and Ranging, at their Muster in June, have continued in the same Employment through all the subsequent Musters till the 8th September; nor does it appear to your Committee, from any Papers submitted to their Perusal by the p. 74 Agents, in what Service they were employed during the Time aforesaid. Your Committee further observe, in the Course of their Examination, that the following Charges have been made and paid by the Agents, which they think not warranted by the Laws; and therefore Report it to the House, that they may judge of the Reasonableness or Expediency of them.

In the Subsistence Account, there are Charges for the Provision found Four Women to each Company, amounting in the Whole to £204 17 3. In the Hospital Account, Wages paid to sundry Nurses to the Amount of £25 12.

In Fort Account, to sundry Women officiating as Cooks, £19 10. To John Linginfelter, Baker, £7 4 for 48 Days Baking Bread at 3 s. ℔ Day.

That by the Hospital Account, it appears, the Sum of £167 17 6 has been allowed and paid the Commissary, being 6 d. ℔ Day for 6715 Days of sick Men, over and above the 9 d. ℔ Day Subsistence-Money allowed them by the Law.

That the Gun-Smith or Armourer, besides his Wages of 2s 6 ℔ Day, has been allowed and paid his Account for mending Soldiers Arms to the Amount of £32 5 2 and for other small Services done for and about the Fort £17 7 9.

In the petty Charges and Expresses Accounts, several sums have been paid to sundry Persons, who have been employed in carrying Money from the Agents to their Managers at the Fort, and other Services, amounting to £29 18 of which Sum £18 15 arises due for

L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11 p. 77 In the Fort Account, there appears a Charge of £110 paid to Capt. John Dagworthy, ꝑ Order of his Excellency, to be by said Dagworthy paid to the Soldiers for Extra-work done by them at the Fort, besides doing their Duty as Soldiers: The Vouchers for the Distribution of which Money do not appear to your Committee.

The Honourable House will please to observe from some of the Accounts stated in this Report, that the Agents have drawn out the chief Part, if not the whole Sum, appropriated for a particular Service, before there has been a Call for the same, and charged their full Commission thereon; in which Instances the Agents may receive Commission for barely receiving and repaying Money to the Commissioners.

Your Committee having inspected the several Muster Rolls of the Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, do find, That there was mustered in Capt. John Dagworthy's Company the 8th Day of May 1757, at Fort Cumberland, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Four Corporals, the Drummer, and Seventy-two private Men; and in the same Company were mustered at Fort Cumberland aforesaid, ꝑ Muster Roll dated the 8th June 1757, the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, Sixty-nine private Men, and one private Man on Furlough. Your Committee also find by the Muster Roll of said Company, dated July 8th, 1757, that it consisted of the Captain, Two Lieutenants, the Ensign, the Surgeon, Four Serjeants, Three Corporals, the Drummer, and Fifty-nine private Men, one private Man on Party, and one on Furlough; and that the said Muster Rolls are signed by the Commissary George Ross. But we must beg Leave to observe, that on the Two last mentioned Rolls, the following Nota Benes are endorsed, viz.ᵗ On that for June, "N.B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757, (tho' the 8th June 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies p. 78 might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz.ᵗ the 19th July 1757." And on the July Roll as follows, "N. B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757 (tho' the 8th July 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz.ᵗ the 19th July 1757." And on the July Roll as follows, "N. B. The Agents are requested to observe, that the above Muster Roll was taken the 19th July 1757 (thro' the 8th July 1757 was inserted, that the Pay of the respective Companies might be correspondent); however, if this is thought to be irregular, the Commissary will make the Date exactly conformable to the Time, viz. the 19th July 1757." Whence your Committee apprehend it will appear, that notwithstanding the Muster Rolls are dated the 8th Day of June and July 1757, respectively, yet in Truth the said Company was not mustered in Presence of the Commissary till the 19th Day of July 1757: And that the Rolls aforesaid are not agreeable to the Directions of the Act of Assembly, which requires that the several Companies of Soldiers in the Pay of this Province, "shall be mustered monthly while they remain in this Province." Your Committee further observe, that from the Face of the said Muster Rolls it does not appear that any Part of the said Company went on Detachment, on Party, or Ranging, to the 19th July aforesaid, except one private Man said to be on Party June 14th, 1757. L. H. J. Liber No. 49 Nov. 11

Your Committee find, that the Muster Rolls of Capt. Alexander and Joshua Beall's, Pearis's and Ware's Companies, are returned ✓ with the proper Certificates, endorsed agreeable to an Act of Assembly made at Baltimore Session, entituled, An Act for his Majesty's Service, and the more immediate Defence of the Frontier Inhabitants of this Province. And from an Examination into the said Rolls, the following Scheme is drawn, shewing the State and Destination of each particular Company, and of the Four Companies in general, monthly, to the 8th Day of September last.

But your Committee have not been able, from any Papers which p. 80 have been laid before them by the Agents, to form any Judgment of what Service the Parties and Detachments, mentioned in the Muster Rolls to be made from the several Companies beforementioned, have been employed in.

Below: This is getting way ahead of the story, but wars are so costly they often bankrupt governments. Maryland still owed Captain Pearis four hundred pounds, which they paid years later, about the time he left for South Carolina, as shown below, Upper House proceedings.

U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22 That, of the Bills drawn by the late Commissioners, there were then unpaid four Bills amounting to £683,,12,,3,, which had not been presented, that all the Bills remitted by the said Commissioners have, since last Session, been received and passed to the Credit of the Province, except One Bill of £250 which was Protested, and which the Commissioners for the Payment of the Public Claims have received, and remitted to the Trustees in London, amounting with Damages to £287,,19,,6.

Your Committee have Examined the State of the Iron Chests and find the Accounts stand as follows Viz.ᵗ

Iron Chests	D,,ʳ
To Balance per Report of the Committee November Session 1766	10,, 5,, 2
To Cash received of Col,,ᵒ Tho.,ˢ Prather for Land Tax	33,,14,,
To Cash received of G: Scott Sheriff of Prince Geo.,ˢ Co.ᵗʸ in part of Robᵗ Riddles Bond	16,,10,, 4
To Cash received from Littleton Dennis for Nath.ˡ Whitakers Bond & Costs	35,, 5,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

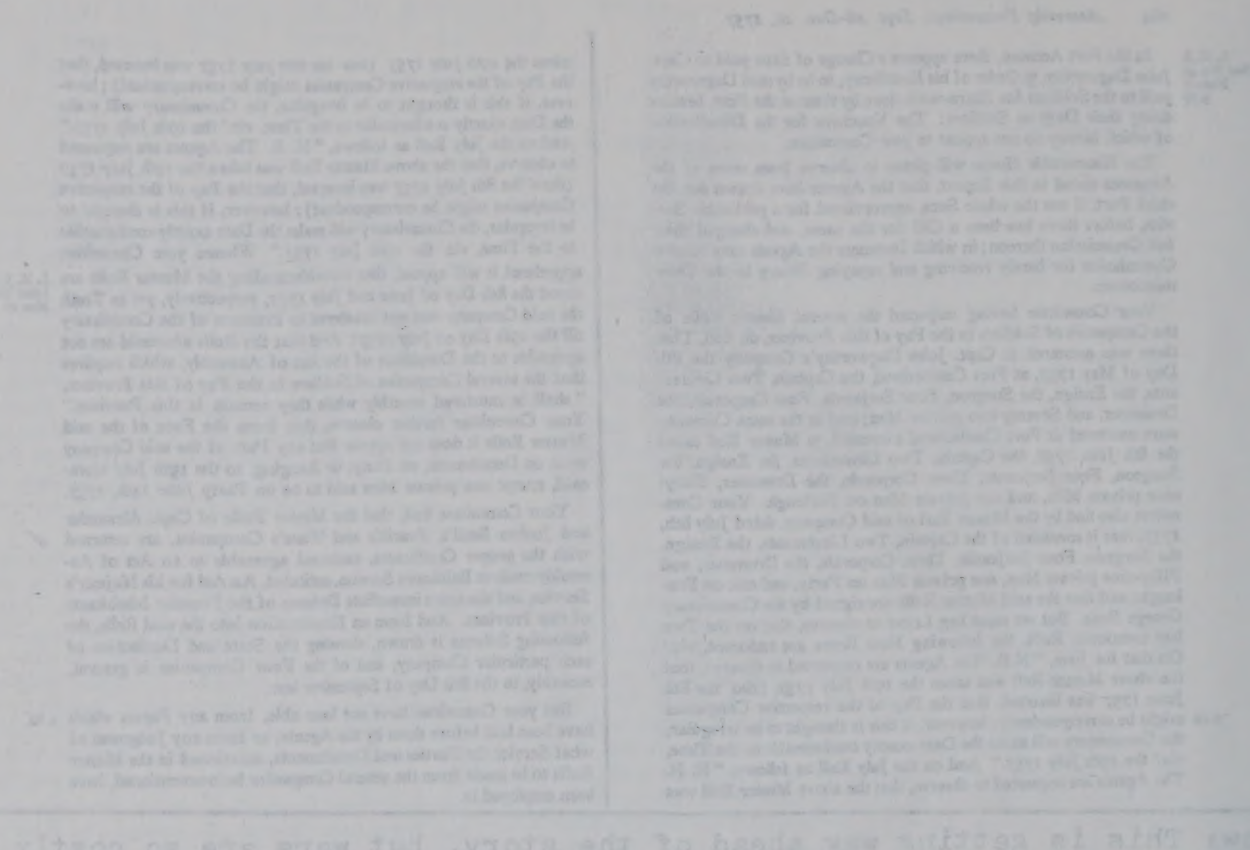
Contra	C,,ʳ
By Cash for Stationary £25 St.ᵍ Ja.ˢ Anderson on Will.ᵐ Anderson	32,,10,,
By Cash paid the Commı̄rs 5 ꝑ Cent Comm.ⁿ on Sundry Debts Collected by them	23,, 9,, 6
By Cash paid for two Bills of Exchange £30 St.ᵍ Remitted to the Trustees	39,,15,,10
	£95,,15,, 4

Your Committee further Report, that the amount of the Journal, and List of Debts, as they passed last Session was 5623499¾ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19,840,,1,,2¼, That the Commissioners have discovered Sundry Errors therein, by wrong Additions, which we have carefully examined, and find the true Debt against the Province on the Journal and List of Debts to be 5841083¾ Pounds of Tobacco, and £19998,,0,,0½ which amounts to 150,679 Dollars, and two fifths of a Dollar

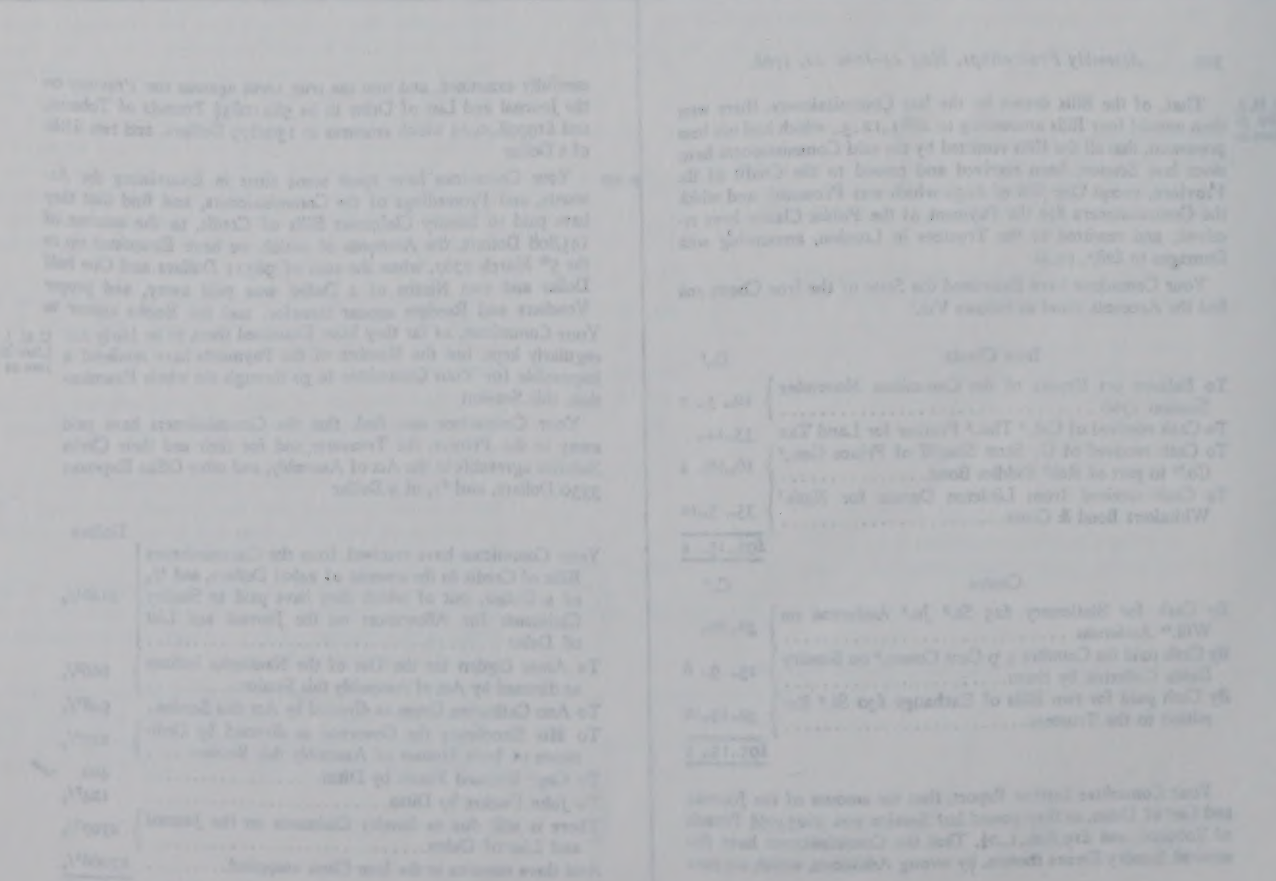
p. 407 Your Committee have spent some time in Examining the Accounts, and Proceedings of the Commissioners, and find that they have paid to Sundry Claimants Bills of Credit, to the amount of 145,808 Dollars, the Accounts of which we have Examined up to the 5ᵗʰ March 1767, when the sum of 98511 Dollars and One half Dollar and two Ninths of a Dollar was paid away, and proper Vouchers and Receipts appear therefor, and the Books appear to Your Committee, as far they have Examined them, to be fairly and regularly kept, but the Number of the Payments have rendered it impossible for Your Committee to go through the whole Examination, this Session U. H. J. Liber No. 36 June 22

Your Committee also find, that the Commissioners have paid away to the Printer, the Treasurer and for their and their Clerks Salaries agreeable to the Act of Assembly, and other Office Expences 3330 Dollars, and $^{8}/_{9}$ of a Dollar

	Dollars
Your Committee have received from the Commissioners Bills of Credit to the amount of 24601 Dollars, and $^{4}/_{9}$ of a Dollar, out of which they have paid to Sundry Claimants for Allowances on the Journal and List of Debts	$2146^{1}/_{9}$
To Amos Ogden for the Use of the Nanticoke Indians as directed by Act of Assembly this Session	$666^{2}/_{3}$
To Ann Catharine Green as directed by Act this Session	$948^{1}/_{3}$
To His Excellency the Governor as directed by Ordinance of both Houses of Assembly this Session	$123^{2}/_{3}$
To Cap.ᵗ Richard Pearis by Ditto	400 ✓
To John Ducket by Ditto	$124^{2}/_{3}$
There is still due to Sundry Claimants on the Journal and List of Debts	$2707^{2}/_{9}$
And there remains in the Iron Chest unapplied	$17466^{5}/_{9}$
Dollars	$24601^{4}/_{9}$



Below: This is getting way ahead of the story, but wars are so costly they often bankrupt governments. Maryland still owed Captain Fearis four hundred pounds, which they paid years later, about the time he left for South Carolina, as shown below, Upper House proceedings.

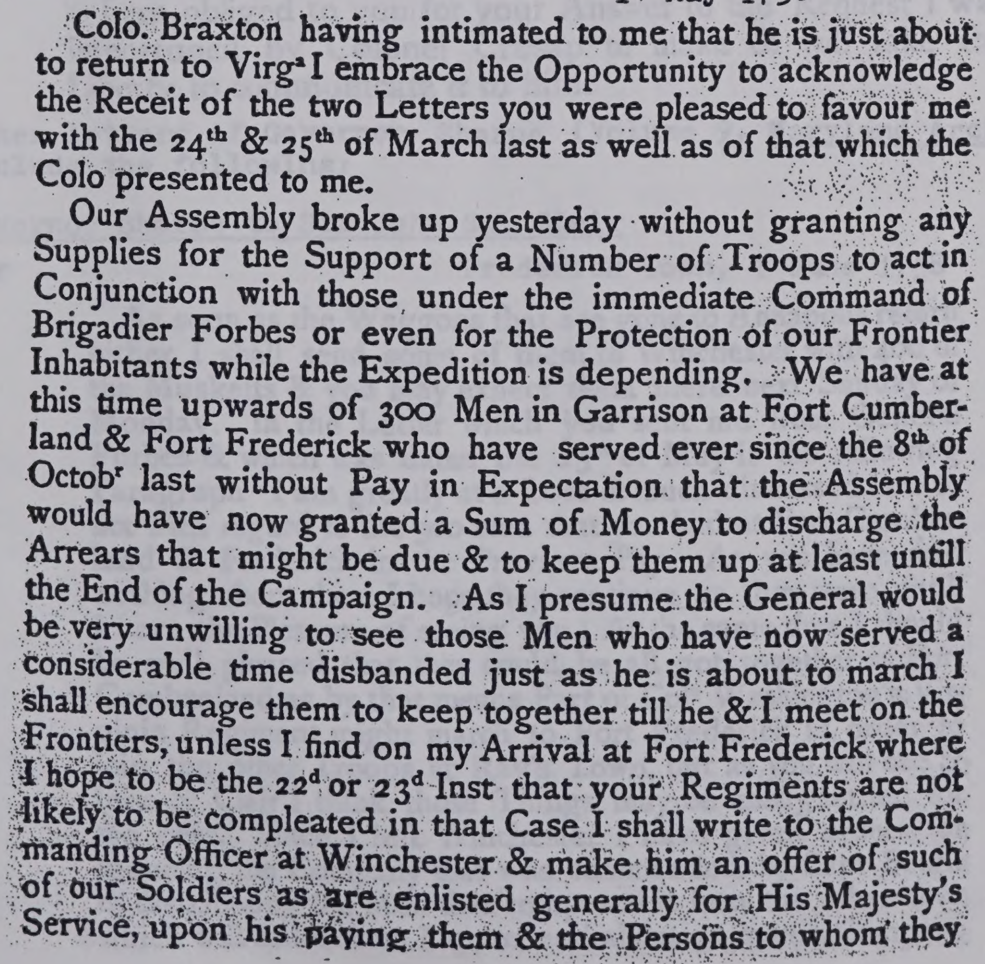


But the Virginians would not let byegones be byegones. As we saw in last chapter, Acting Virginia Governor Blair had in 1758 been holding hearings about the outrages commited in the Halifax and Bedford backcountry and growing angrier by the minute. Someone must pay, and somehow Richard was implicated because he had served as an interpreter for the Cherokees when he caught up to them, and the jealous Wahatchy had intimated untruthfully that Richard pretended to be an Indian agent (just the kind of thing to set the equally jealous Atkin off). Governor Sharpe realized the truth of the matter, but relations with Virginia were already strained enough and he did not want an intercolonial incident to add to his troubles.

Richard did not lose his Captaincy, but the men under him were divided out among the other four regiments, the fifth was disbanded. General Forbes had plenty of other uses for a captain who was also a good interpreter.

Letter of GovernorSharpe to Mr. Blair, President of the Virginia Council

Sir: 14 May 1758



Colo. Braxton having intimated to me that he is just about to return to Virg^{a} I embrace the Opportunity to acknowledge the Receit of the two Letters you were pleased to favour me with the 24th & 25th of March last as well as of that which the Colo presented to me.

Our Assembly broke up yesterday without granting any Supplies for the Support of a Number of Troops to act in Conjunction with those under the immediate Command of Brigadier Forbes or even for the Protection of our Frontier Inhabitants while the Expedition is depending. We have at this time upwards of 300 Men in Garrison at Fort Cumberland & Fort Frederick who have served ever since the 8th of Octob^{r} last without Pay in Expectation that the Assembly would have now granted a Sum of Money to discharge the Arrears that might be due & to keep them up at least untill the End of the Campaign. As I presume the General would be very unwilling to see those Men who have now served a considerable time disbanded just as he is about to march I shall encourage them to keep together till he & I meet on the Frontiers, unless I find on my Arrival at Fort Frederick where I hope to be the 22d or 23d Inst that your Regiments are not likely to be compleated in that Case I shall write to the Commanding Officer at Winchester & make him an offer of such of our Soldiers as are enlisted generally for His Majesty's Service, upon his paying them & the Persons to whom they

may be endebted whatever their Arrears of Pay at that time shall amount to, which will not I suppose be so much as the Bounty Money that you allow for Recruits.

I had received a Copy of the Charge agst Capt Pearis before I was favoured with your Lettr which as I had repeatedly given him peremptory Instructions to concern himself on no account with the Cherokees farther than to interpret between them & the Commanding Officer at Fort Cumberland did not a little surprize me, but the Report of a Court of Enquiry which has been appointed to enquire into the Affair together with Mr Smith's opinion that little Credit ought to be given to the Indian's Information inclines me to think that Capt Pearis has not acted such a Part as he is represented to have done by the Minutes you were pleased to send me, however to remove all occasion for such kind of Complaints for the future I was determined in case our Troops had been still kept up to superseed him & to leave it to the General to do with him afterwards as he should think fit.

I am obliged to you for your Answer to the Request I was importuned by Colonel Cresap to make & will take the Liberty to communicate it to him.

Other letters of Governor Sharpe (Volume 9, Maryland Archives) include the following:

Governor Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair

Sir Frederick Town, 1 June 1758

As soon as the Waggons that are gone to Annapolis return hither I shall send some of them to Winchester with 400 of the Musketts & you may expect them there next Sunday or Monday. In the Letter which you sent me from General Forbes & which was dated the 25th of May is the following Paragraph "I am greatly at a Loss & much distressed how to act with regard to the 300 men that you had at Fort Cumberland & Frederick in the Province Pay. As you have said nothing about them I hope they continue as they were untill I have the Pleasure of seeing you; At the same time I should be well pleased that they could be all got together at Fort Cumberland as by that means Part of Colo Washington's Virginia Regiment might march to Fort Frederick in order to join the other Troops at Ray's Town, but as you will see Sr Iohn St Clair I think those Things may be easily settled for the best. Since I left Winchester I have given orders for reducing the Company that was commanded by Capt Pearis & distributing the Men that composed it into the other four which will make them I apprehend about 90 men a Company.

including Officers; 122 of these are at Fort Frederick & the mouth of Conegochiegh, by a Return which I received yesterday from the Commanding Officer at that Fort I find that 60 of those had the Small Pox many years ago & that 25 of the 60 have been these five Days at Conegochiegh under the Command of Capt Ioshua Beall that in Case you should think proper to send a Party to Fort Cumberland there might not be the least Danger of their carrying any Infection. Capt. A. Beall assures me that none of the men under his Command except two are suffered to go to the House where those that had the Small Pox were & he seems very sanguine in his hopes that he shall be able to hinder the Distemper from Spreading.

Governor Horatio Sharpe to Sir John St. Clair

Sir Fort Frederick 14 June 1758

This Day I send off the Camp Kettles &c. for Winchester & Mr Shelby setts off to Morrow in order to reconnoitre & blaze the Road from Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland. Inclosed you have the account of 70 Blanketts sent by my order to Winchester which were delivered to Colo Byrd the 9th of this Inst. With the great Pains that Capt Bosomworth & Capt Pearis have taken 9 Indians out of 14 have been prevailed on to march to Fort Loudoun & continue the Campaign. There are about 20 Indians at Fort Cumberland which I am apprehensive may be for returning back to their own Country unless prevented. I have therefore with the Advice of Capt Bosomworth ordered Capt Pearis to that Fort who is in case they are for returning home to use his best Endeavours to carry them to Fort Loudoun, as this is interfering with Indian Affairs am doubtful how it may be taken a Line of Advice with regard to this matter will much oblige Sir &c

Governor Horatio Sharpe to (Maryland) Captain Alexander Beall

Sir 6 July 1758

This is to inform you that if you have not already, you may soon expect to receive orders from Colo Stanwix to send a Detachment of two Sergeants two Corporals & fifty-six private Men from each of the New Companies to reinforce the Garrison of Fort Cumberland. If Colo Stanwix should not particularly specify what Officers he would have march with these Detachments, You will order Capt. Pearis, Lieut Mathews, Lieut Hanson & Ensign Beall on that Service

Abraham Bosomworth to Col. Washington from Camp at Rays Town 11 July 1758 Dear Sir: I recd your favor of the 6th and communicated the Contents to Colonel Bouquet. I acquainted you in my last of a Party of 24 Indians being gone off to Fort DuQuesne, when they come near the Place they will divide into two or three small Parties by which means we shall have the greater Chance of

"getting a Prisoner. I expect them back in 14 days when I hope to send you good news; I really believe the French are but weak & that there are few Indians at Du Quesne tho' Moskingo is so far distant that there's little Dependance upon the Intelligence we receive from that Quarter. I hear Paris has Caried the Indians who took the Scalp in all 17 down to Fort Loudoun & is now on the road to this place. Majr Lewis arrived here last night. Colo. Bouquet is mightily pleased with their Dress. ..."

Letter of Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Forbes, 13 July 1758 from Camp near Raystown. "Sir: Captain Paris, after bringing his sixteen Cherokees, is going to Fort Frederic to receive his company's pay. From there he is to go to Fort Cumberland, according to your orders.

I believe that he would be very suitable to take the Little Carpenter from Winchester to Raystown, but as he is not in favor with the Virginians, and as I do not know what orders you may have given on this subject, I advised him to ask you for your wishes regarding this commission. He says that it is not more than forty miles from Fort Frederic to Raystown by a path through the woods which would be the best route for these Cherokees.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most humble and most obedient servant

Colonel Bouquet was in a bad mood two days later, much too much to take care of. Maybe he had a headache as well.
Section of letter of 15 July 1758, same parties
"There are 18 ovens built, charcoal has been made, and I am making a storehouse for hay. The 16 Indians whom Captain Paris had brought, left us yesterday like rascals, after having solemnly promised to take part in the campaign. Perhaps I wrong their leader, but I think he rather thought to put himself forward by bringing them under the lure of getting presents for their past services, instead of seeking to make them render new services. He is not a trustworthy man, in spite of the recommendations that may be given to you at Carlisle. (He left the day before yesterday to go to Cumberland with Bosomworth.)

Gist's Catawbas and Cherokees exist only in his imagination, and are reduced to 28 Tuscaroras and Nantaways, better fitted to carry off our presents than to fight. We must no longer count on any but ourselves. Yesterday I received 28 letters; I am replying to what concerns the service directly, and I hope that Major Grant and the brigade major will excuse me for today...."

(You will recall that when Indian Agent Atkin left to go back to Charleston overland, Christopher Gist had been appointed to act in his behalf. The following letter from him to Washington, though it refers to Robert Pearis, not Richard, sheds a little light on Bouquet's comments.)

Christopher Gist to Col. George Washington, 20 July 1758 Winchester "Sir, here with you have the agreeable News of taking all the Out works at Lewisburg your Papers will come by the Command & as the Carolina Soldiers had no Arms I Sent Capt Tom with 25 Indians as far as South branch who is to come back to this town from ther; as no doubt you will Send a Guard to South Branch, to take Care of these 50 Waggons with Stores & Provisions & as your waggons will come again the Same Indians will come then with Me. I have advices from the Cherokee Country that the Indians will not come until the heat is a little over. I sent Smith away the 14th the express Met him in augusta. I order'd Mr. Cromwell with him who will Delay no time, they cannot be here in less then forty days from this day, I blieve it is a good thing Smith is gone there as he will Set every thing right.

"I have a Letter from Mr. Turner to General Forbes, which I am going with My Self. he is at Carlyle, the waggons is at Parises* the Bearer will Set Out at 10 o'Clock hope you will See him tomorrow let him come with the next command or Sooner excuse hast...."

(Footnotes say the original plan was for the detachment of NC provincials at Winchester to conduct Thomas Walker's second convoy of wagons up to Ft. Cumberland but evidently the Tuscarora leader Captain Tom and his little band of Tuscarora and Nottoway had to help escort both the unarmed Carolinians and the wagon train as far as South Branch.

The express, or messenger, who met Richard Smith the interpreter probably was the man who brought Turner's letters reporting that no more Cherokees would come until fall. Whether or not due to Smith's mission or to Gist's son-in-law William Cromwell, the fact is that Little Carpenter and a small party of Cherokee did come to Winchester in October.

Commenting on an earlier report from Gist that Little Carpenter and his men had already arrived in Augusta County, see Bouquet's letter of 15 July. Abraham Bosomworth wrote Bouquet the 14th that he had found that there "are no Catawbas at Winchester nor any accounts of the Little Carpenter, Mr. Gist being too mature (as he generally is) in his intelligence." William Byrd had left George Turner in the Cherokee country in early May with instructions to conduct Little Carpenter and his party to Winchester; but in a detailed report to Forbes wrote, "to the Very Day that I was to have set off, I had no Reason to Doubt my Success, when they trump'd up a Story of their Conjurers foretelling them a great deal of Sickness and Death that would attend them in case they Went & they positively refus'd to go till the Fall."

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* Gist was referring to Robert Pearis's house a short distance north and west of Winchester. He was during that period a captain in the Frederick Co. militia. Robert's role as a provisioner of troops is more fully discussed in Chapter 4.)

Evidently by 18 August 1758 Cherokee scouts are cooperating and Bouquet is no longer angry at Captain Pearis. He writes, "The Catawbas have not yet arrived at Cumberland. We are in need of two essentual articles, vermilion and blankets. There isn't a single one in camp, and the nights begin to be cold...Captain Paris is also in the field with a dozen volunteers; we have several other parties out, which will not be long retuning."

Captain Pearis and his Indians have been out scouting toward Fort DuQuesne when Captain James Burd writes to Bouquet from "Camp at Quemahony 28 August 1758 8 a;M...Captn Paris is just arrived here who informs me that he had been in sight of Fort DuQuesne but found it impracticable to take a Prisoner & that Major Armstrong is on his return. Neither ofthese partys has brought any further intelligence than that they saw the Fort & the Sixty Tents, the troops they Judge to be but a small Number, they say they heard a great deal of Noise over the River Ohio which seem'd to be falling of Trees, perhaps the Body of the French may be on theside of The River Fortifying there. We are very much in want of Bullocks if some could be forward soon..."

The company calendar shows that various companies arrived from Raystown to Loyalhanna at varying dates. Major Grant marched prematurely from Loyalhanna with a large detachment to reconnoiter at Fort DuQuesne on September 9th and was defeated by the 14th, losing many men. Captain Pearis is not mentioned any more that year by the Bouquet Papers, probably because not directly under his command.

On 5 October 1758, Col. Washington wrote, "I have this instant received letters from Captain Waggener and McKenzie, by express. The first writes tha two men were killed, captured about 2 miles from his fort. The other says that a Cherokee party, just as they were setting out to go to Capt. Waggener's, heard that Pearis was at Fort Cumberland and marched to him. The same letter has the interesting information that the monthly returns for that previous July and August had shown their strength to be 32 commissioned officers, 48 noncommissioned, and 703 rank and file* whereof 20 officers, 30 noncommissioned, and 464 rank and file were were employed in the still-perilous Virginia Counties of Hampshire andFrederick. "But there are always 6 women to a company, who draw provisions." He also says that Governor Sharpe received information that two French deserters had come into Fort Cumberland about a month ago and said there were no more than 400 Men in the garrison at Fort DuQuesne.

It seems that the party of Cherokees who marched to Fort Cumberland to see Captain Pearis did not hang around long, and had not been very welcome there by some of the other companies. Gov. Sharpe wrote to Col. John Stanwix, "Since I received Capt. Dagworthy's letter, I have been informed that the Cherokees who were then at Fort Cumberland are returned home...This has relieved Capt. Dagworthy from the Anxiety that he seemed to be in upon account of those Indians & he

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*Compare 703 rank and file during wartime to the number of troops from any state nowadays, but total population was then small.

will not I presume be visited by any more of them while he remains at Fort Cumberland." And to think of all the trouble the Virginians went to to lure these Indians, only to have people like Dagworthy, who had an abhorrence of all Indians, treat them so coldly that they returned home. They would have fought for Waggener had they not got themselves sidetracked by their admiration for Pearis.

The last time he is mentioned in Washington Papers is in an order book entry of 10 November 1758, written at Camp Loyalhanna, not over 50 miles east of Fort DuQuesne as the crow flies, but with Chestnut Ridge mountains in between, where companies from all over the South were assembled. His entry included, "It is General Forbes' orders that the following Officers of the Maryland Companies take rank and Command amongst the Troops in the following manner. Mr. Richd Parris as Capt; Lieut, Ens. James Gorrell; Lt., Ens. Bell (he meant Rezin Beall); Mr. Phillip Love as Ens.; and Mr. Barton Lucas as Ens." Obviously, General Forbes was giving Richard Pearis a new company, with subordinate promoted commissioned officers.

Again we come to a time in which much happened, most of it the most exciting of all, for which not enough data has been found, but there must be a lot of literature which has eluded me so far, for many books state that Captain Richard Pearis and his southern Indians, acting as spies, observed smoke billowing out of Fort DuQuesne in late November 1758 and, in drawing closer, observed hurrying Frenchmen evacuating the place to go toward New York to fight against the forces of General Jeffrey Amherst and Sir William Johnson, et al, on the Niagara frontier, considered by them to be more crucial, and that there were not enough of them to fight in both places.

The Maryland men encountered a 12-year-old Virginia lad, captured when he was ten, who made his escape during the commotion and he confirmed their suspicions. In their haste to torch the fort and what supplies they could not carry with them, the French were not entirely thorough. Richard and his Cherokees rushed in to attempt to douse fires and save whatever they could, especially the Indian stores they so prized, and the artillery.

All of this happened just in the nick of time to change the mind of General Forbes, who had very nearly resolved to go into winter quarters because of the lateness of the season and the shortness of supplies due to the long distance and poor roads from civilization, and troops suffering from exposure. Had he done so a golden opportunity might have been lost or at least the war prolonged. Though the English would probably have prevailed anyway, it would have been at a high extra cost ofhuman suffering, not to mention His Majesty's purse.

The accounts say Richard was commended by General Forbes, thanked by Lord Eglinton, and later made an Indian agent. When details are found, they will be inserted. (Col. Archibald Montgomery,11th Earl of Eglinton, raised the 77th Regiment, or First Highland (Scots) Battalion and was commissioned Lt. Col.Commandant 4 January 1757. His troops, often at the front, fought Bravely. Some of them died as a result of Major Grant's defeat in September 1758.)

The best confirmation to date is found in the following letter of

Governor Sharpe to Lord Baltimore

My Lord 14 December 1758

It is with great pleasure I inform Your Ldp that Lt Colo Dagworthy is just arrived here from the Army commanded by General Forbes & brings us the agreeable Account of His Excellencys having on the 25th of last Month taken Possession of Fort Du Quesne which the Enemy had abandoned two Days before. A Virginia Lad who made his Escape from them as they were going off says that about Half the Garrison (which consisted of 500 men commanded by Monsr Desligneris) went down the Ohio in Battoes carrying the Artillery & all their Stores with them & that the Rest having first set fire to all the Houses in & without the Fort marched towards Venango which is about 60 Miles to the Northwd of Fort Du Quesne & where they have a small Stoccado Fort. They had it seems been some time in great Want of Provisions, (which was probably owing to the Loss they suffered last Summer at Frontenac) their Indians had all left them, they perceived that General Forbes was approaching with upwards of 3000 Men who were within two Days March of the Fort when they abandoned it & happily for us the Weather continued extreemly favourable.

The first Intelligence the General received of the Enemys being gone off was from some Friendly Indians who had been on a Scout & returned to his Camp on the Evening of the 24th Orders were immediately issued for Lt. Colo Dagworthy to march next Morning at Break of Day with a hundred Men to reconnoitre & if the Indian's Intelligence was true to take Possession of the Fort. He had scarcely left the Camp when he met Capt Pearis one of our Officers who had been sent out the Night before with a small Party to make Discoveries & by him he was assured of the Truth of what the Indians had before told the General. The inclosed Plan or Draft which Colo Dagworthy has at my Desire sketch't out from his Memory will shew Your Ldp what Works the French had made & in what Condition they left them. & the other inclosed Paper will inform Your Ldp how the General has disposed of the Provincial Troops that served on this Expedition. Besides the 200 Provincials who are destined to garrison Fort Du Quesne this winter Colo Dagworthy left most of the Highlanders & Royal Americans there but he supposes that they are by this time coming in with the General (who was in a very ill State of Health) & that all the Regulars will be sent

> down among the Inhabitants for Winter Quarters. As soon almost as our Troops arrived at Fort Du Quesne four or five Indians appeared on the other Side of the Ohio & desired to be fetched over & introduced to the General which they were the next Day on the 27th they were dismissed with an Answer to the Message they had brought from their respective Towns & Mr Croghan the Deputy Agent for Indian Affairs with an Interpreter was ordered to accompany them, Col° Dagworthy does not know what passed between the General & those Indians but he says it was expected that all the Indians on the Ohio will immediately come in & sue for Peace. In my Letter of the 8th Inst I told Your Ldp there was a Report that the French had only retired to another Fort which they had built about 20 miles lower down the Ohio but I learn from Col° Dagworthy that there is no such Fort & that those of the Enemy that fell down the River were seen more than 30 Miles below Fort Du Quesne by the four Indians abovementioned. Your Ldp will perceive by the Orders which the General gave out the 29th of Novemr that he has sent a hundred of the Maryland Soldiers to Garrison Fort Cumberland expecting I presume that our Assembly will at least agree to support that Number. but if he has proceeded on this Supposition I am much afraid he will be disappointed & that Fort Cumberland will be soon evacuated, for the Gentlemen of the Lower House are still determined to adhere to their Assesment Bill, which I am told will be now offered to the Upper House in two or three Days. The General having thought fit to leave it to me to dispose of the Rest of the Maryland Forces I have ordered them to repair to this Place where they will be ready to be disbanded if no Supplies are granted or to receive their Arrears of Pay & be cloathed if the Assembly shall be prevailed on to raise Money at this time for that purpose.

What I consider to be thebest post-victory letter of General John Forbes follows. It gives fewer details, but it took the poor man four days to write, as he was then seized of what proved to be his fatal illness. He was impressed with therichness of the stretch of fine land he had just conquered forthe country.

Forbes to Abercromby and Amherst

Sir: Fort Duquesne now Pittsbourg 26 November 1758

> I have the pleasure of acquainting you with signall success of His Majesties Arms over all His Enemies on the Ohio, by having obliged them to burn, and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Inst; and of which I took possesion with my light troops the same Evening, and with my little Army the next day—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats, and part by land

to their Forts and Settlements upon the Mississippi, being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their friends the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutrall part, after thoroughly convincing them in severall skirmishes, that all their attempts upon our advanced posts, in order to cut of our Communication, were vain, and to no purpose, so they now seem all willing, and well disposed to Embrace His Majesties most Gracious protection.

Give me leave therefore to congratulate you upon this important Event, of having expelled the French from Fort Duquesne, and this prodigious tract of fine rich Country, and of having in a Manner reconciled the various tribes, and Nations of Indians inhabiting it, to His Majesties Government.

You may remember Sir that I applyed to for your orders,[13] and instructions, how I was to behave myself in case I was so fortunate as to bring this affair to a happy crissis, acquainting you at the same time, that I had wrote to the different Governours concerned, beging of them their advice, and councill, but never had an answer to any of my repeated applications from any one person being left entirely to act upon my own weak foundation, I must now therefore beg, that as soon as possible, I may have your direction with regard to what strength I am to leave here for the protection of the Country, and for whom I must build a Blockhouse to cover them from the severity of the Season.

The Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina troops, may all disband tomorrow, as their provinces will pay them no longer, however I have used the freedom to detain 250 of them here, which indeed is more than I think I can possibly mantain during the Winter, considering 400 miles of land carriage thrô an immense Wilderness, and the worst roads in the world.

30 November

So far I had wrote you the 26th, but being seized with an inflammation in my stomach, Midriff and Liver, the sharpest and most severe of all distempers, I could proceed no farther, and as I have a thousand things to say, have ordered Major Halkett down the Country in order to explain the motives upon which I proceeded, and the various, and almost insurmountable difficulties I had to grapple with.

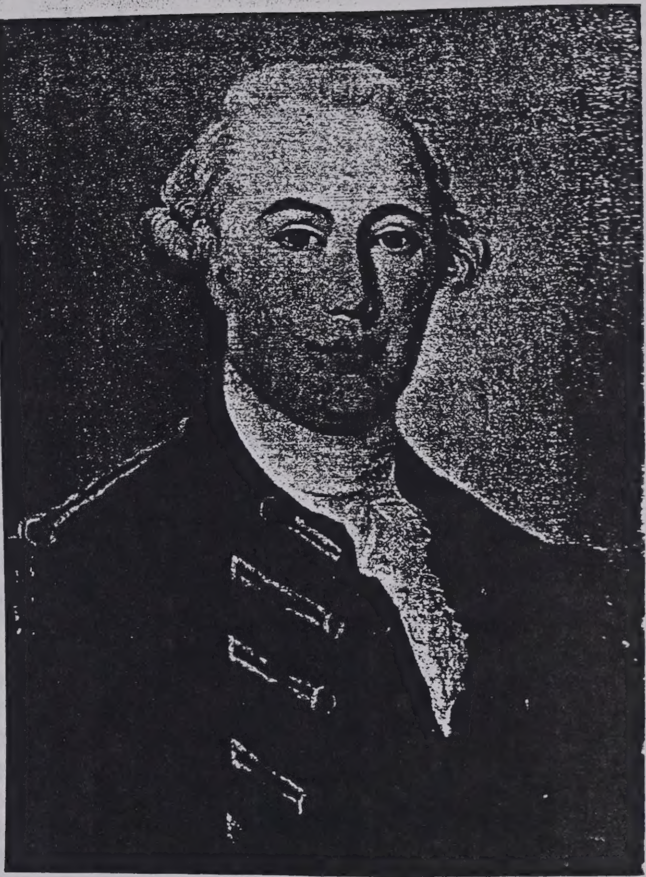
I have ordered him to proceed directly for England, which I hope you will approve off, and forthwith order a Packett to sail with him, as I cannot put pen to paper myself, and as he is the only person with me, in whom I could place the smallest confidence, or from whom I have met with the smallest assistance, Col°. Bouquet alone excepted.

I shall leave this as soon as I am able to stand, but God knows when, or if I ever reach Philadelphia.

Portrait of Brigadier General John Forbes, presented to Royal Greys Regiment by a collateral descendant.

This letter is from Writings of General John Forbes compiled for Col Dames of America, by Alfred Proctor James (1938) pages 262-3

This portrait was opposite the title page.



I expect the heads of all the Indians in here tomorrow,[14] when I hope very soon to finish with them what I have laboured hard at these 6 months, and which tho in the end has turned out as I foresaw it would, yet I had so many different Interests to reconcile, that I almost despaired of Success.

Our men had neither Tents, cloaths, shoes, or stockings, and provisions only from day to day, so you may believe it is high time for me to Seperate.

I am Dr. Sir

With great regard and esteem

Yr. Most obedt.

Most humble Servt.

Jo: fforbes

The book quoted is very interesting, but has no direct references to Captain Richard Pearis, though he certainly knew him and personally directed some of his duties. Another book written for the same group, by Irene Stewart, Letters of General John Forbes etc., pp 71-2 has a nice tale about the captured boy, Grant's defeat, etc., but is beyond the scope of this present story.

CHAPTER TEN - RICHARD HOLDS THE FORT

As explained in Governor Sharpe's letter, the French floated much heavy artillery, etc., (which could not be carried upstream on the Allegheny and French Creek and portaged to the fort on Lake Erie very easily) down the Ohio and then, presumably, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Their ally Indians, being no fools, deserted them and sued for peace (though years later those same Indians, angered by white western expansion, rose up again and Colonel Bouquet and Major Lewis and others had to fight them all over again). That entailed another long, hard-fought war, but is not part of our story. After the French were gone, tortured remains of many colonists and troops were found, including soldiers from the Scottish Highlands. Before they left they also slew their prisoners rather than attempt to take them along. The 12-year old lad who escaped was lucky. These revolting facts are notable partly because wide-spread French propaganda had been that they were humanitarians whereas English colonists were crudely cruel.

General Forbes was very perceptive when he claimed to have won "a very fine country" for the Pennsylvanians. It was important to hang on to it, but at that point the soldiers barely had clothing or food. Despite the fact that their colonies would no longer support them, he ordered at least 250 troops to maintain the place. Richard Pearis and his company, composed of Maryland soldiers were ordered to maintain Fort Cumberland; he so informed Governor Sharpe, whose province had been unwilling to support their troops even in wartime. By 30 December the General was in Philadelphia on his sick bed, when the Governor sent him a plaintive letter asking for funding and suggesting many of the soldiers be furloughed for a while. After Forbes died he importuned his successor, and also General Amherst. The Maryland Captains knew there was a problem, but trusted him to find some solution. Richard Pearis did. So when you read the contents of some of his letters, you will understand this better.

Captain Richard Pearis to General John Forbes

Sir Fort Cumberland 9 January 1759

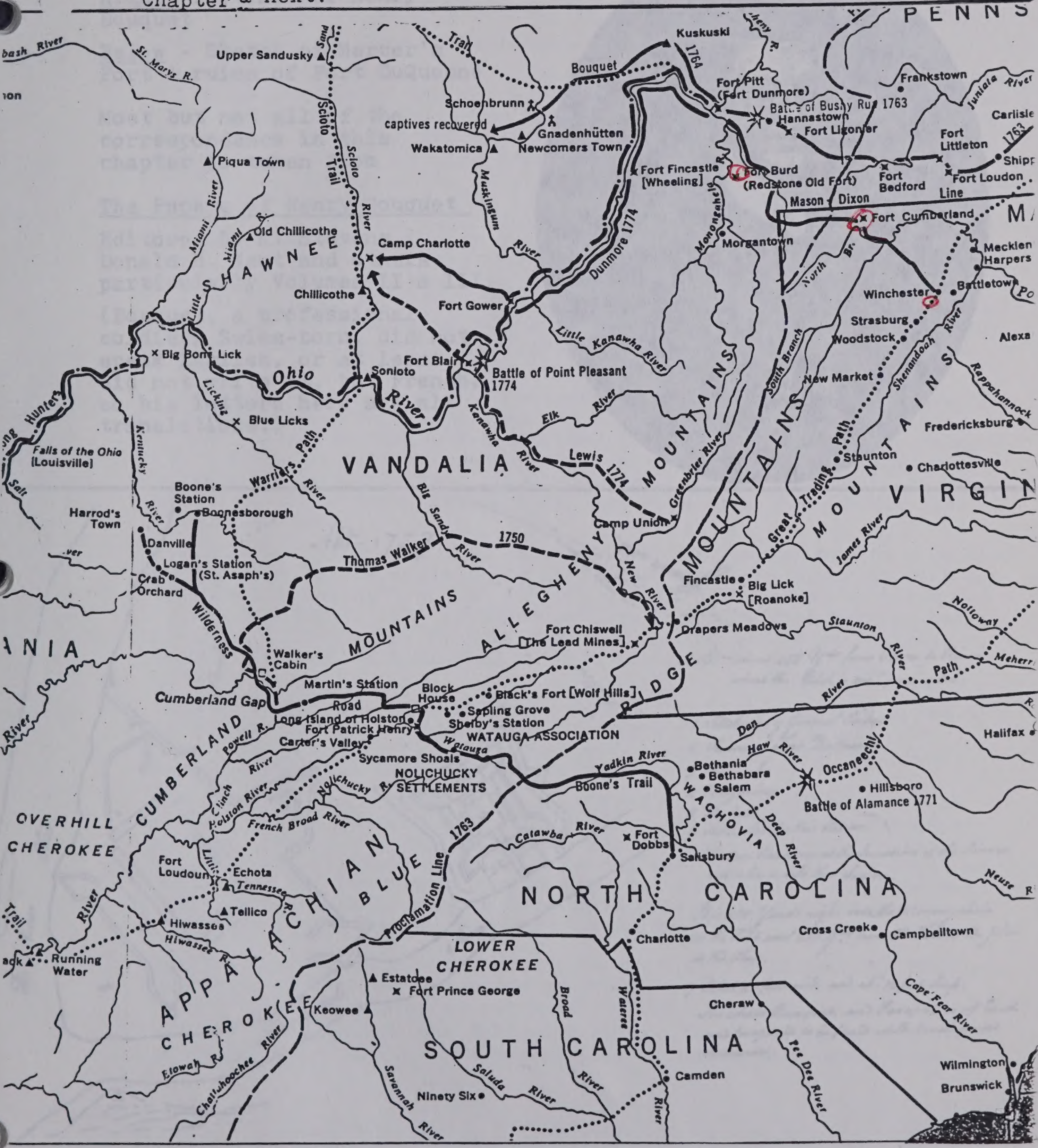
I think it is my Duty to let you know that I never had the Complement of Men at this Fort agreeable to your Orders. the most I could get here was Ninety Rank and File, and out of them you'l see by the Return how Many is Deserted since my last. Notwithstanding all I can do with them and have Done, without Money verry soon to Pay them I don't expect there will be in a Short time any Body to Garrison this Fort but Officers, we have given them Shoes and other things but all wont do.

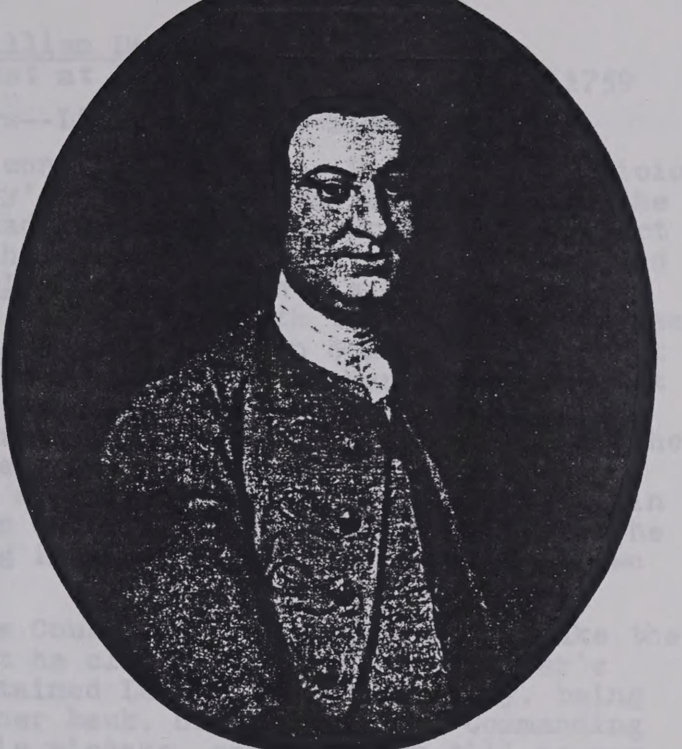
Sir I just beg leave to Mention Altho it was your Pleasure to Order me to this Post so that I cant have the Honour of Waiting on you without its your Pleasure. Altho' Absent have grate reason to think that you'l not forget my Past service in the late Campaign and if you are Pleas'd to think me worthy of your Favour am in hopes you'l Recommend or Reward me Accordingly.

I am Sir your most Obedient Humble Servant

Rich^{d} Pearis

You might want to consult this map in regard to later events, but it clearly shows Braddock's Road, Forbes' Road, Forts Burd & Ligonier, Cumberland & Bedford as well as other localities mentioned in this Chapter & next.


PENNS
Kuskuski
1764
Bouquet
Upper Sandusky
Sandusky
Trail
Wabash River
St. Marys R.
Schoenbrunn
captives recovered
Gnadenhütten
Newcomers Town
Wakatomica
Scioto Trail
Scioto River
Muskingum River
Piqua Town
Fort Pitt (Fort Dunmore)
Battle of Bushy Run 1763
Hannastown
Fort Ligonier
Frankstown
Juniata River
Carlisle
Fort Littleton
1763
Shipp
Fort Loudon
Fort Bedford
Fort Fincastle [Wheeling]
Fort Burd (Redstone Old Fort)
Mason Dixon Line
Fort Cumberland
Monongahela R.
Morgantown
North Br.
Meckien
Harpers
Battletown
Po
Winchester
Strasburg
Woodstock
Alexa
Old Chillicothe
Miami River
Little Miami R.
SHAWNEE
Camp Charlotte
Chillicothe
Fort Gower
Dunmore 1774
Little Kanawha River
Fort Blair
Battle of Point Pleasant 1774
Big Bone Lick
Ohio River
Sonioto
Licking River
Blue Licks
Kanawha River
Elk River
Lewis 1774
Greenbrier River
South Branch
New Market
Shenandoah River
Rappahannock
Fredericksburg
Staunton
Charlottesville
Falls of the Ohio (Louisville)
Hunters
Salt
Kentucky River
VANDALIA
Warriors Path
Big Sandy River
MOUNTAINS
Great Trading Path
MOUNTAINS
VIRGIN
Boone's Station
Boonesborough
Harrod's Town
Camp Union
Danville
Thomas Walker
1750
Logan's Station (St. Asaph's)
Crab Orchard
ALLEGHENY
MOUNTAINS
James River
New River
Fincastle
Big Lick [Roanoke]
Wilderness
MOUNTAINS
Fort Chiswell [The Lead Mines]
Drapers Meadows
Staunton River
Nottoway
Meherr
Path
NIA
Walker's Cabin
Cumberland Gap
Martin's Station
Road
Block House
Black's Fort [Wolf Hills]
Sapling Grove
Shelby's Station
Long Island of Holston
Fort Patrick Henry
WATAUGA ASSOCIATION
RIDGE
Dan River
Halifax
River
Carter's Valley
Powell R.
Sycamore Shoals
Watauga
NOLICHUCKY SETTLEMENTS
Nolichucky R.
Yadkin River
Boone's Trail
Bethania
Bethabara
Salem
Haw River
Occaneechi
Hillsboro
Battle of Alamance 1771
WACHOVIA
CUMBERLAND
Clinch
Holston River
River
French Broad River
OVERHILL
CHEROKEE
Catawba River
Fort Dobbs
Deep River
Salisbury
Neuse
Fort Loudoun
Echota
Little Tennessee R.
Tellico
1763
Proclamation Line
BLUE
APPALACHIAN
NORTH
CAROLINA
Cross Creek
Campbelltown
Trail
River
Hiwassee
Hiwassee R.
Running Water
Charlotte
LOWER CHEROKEE
Estatoee
Fort Prince George
Broad
Wateree
Cheraw
Cape Fear River
Keowee
CHEROKEE
Elowah R.
Chattahoochee River
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah River
Saluda River
River
Camden
Pee Dee River
Wilmington
Brunswick
Ninety Six
River
River



Right- Portrait of Henry Bouquet

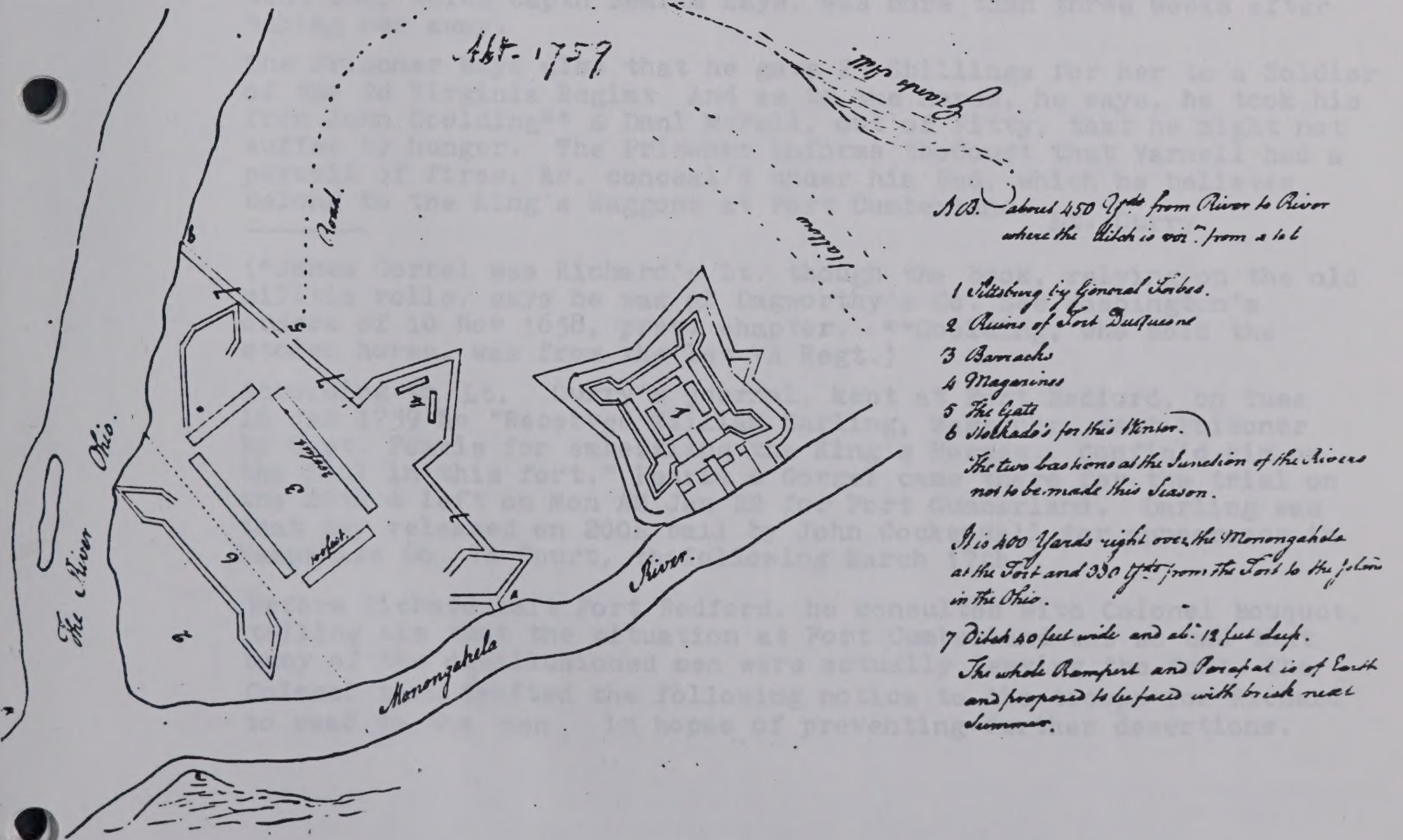
Below - Sketch of Mercer's Fort & ruins of Fort DuQuesne

Most but not all of the correspondence in this chapter is taken from

The Papers of Henry Bouquet

Editors- S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent and others particularly Volumes II & III

(Bouquet, a professional soldier, Swiss-born, did not speak English, or at least did not write it, but French, so his letters here are all translations.)



A B. about 450 Yds from River to River where the Ditch is viz. from a to b

1 Pittsburg by General Forbes.
2 Ruins of Fort DuQuesne
3 Barracks
4 Magazines
5 The Gate
6 Stokade's for this Winter.

The two bastions at the Junction of the Rivers not to be made this Season.

It is 400 Yards right over the Monongahela at the Fort and 330 Yds from the Fort to the Island in the Ohio.

7 Ditch 40 feet wide and abt. 12 feet deep.

The whole Rampart and Parapet is of Earth and proposed to be faced with brick next Summer.

SKETCH OF MERCER'S FORT AND RUINS OF FORT DUQUESNE

Undated drawing endorsed "A Rough Sketch of the Fort building at Pittsburg, with a Plan of the Fort erected there by General Forbes".

Court of Inquiry Concerning William Darling
Held by Order of Colonel Bouquet at Fort Bedford Jany ye 20, 1759

President-Lieut Ourry. Members--Lieut Hubbard, Lieut Gorril*

Was examined William Darling, confin'd by Captn. Pearis, on Suspicion of embezling two of his Majesty's Horses. Captn Pearis informs the Court, that one Varnell (who had accompanied the Prisoner from Fort Cumberland home) had inform'd him Capt Pearis that the Prisoner had bragg'd to him of the fine Hawl he had made in his Trip to Ft. Cumberland having, as he said, got a Mare worth ten Pounds & a Horse worth about five. And that the said Darling in coming back brought the Mare part of the Way, in order to dispose of her, but would not bring her so far as Cumberland, lest she should be own'd & taken from him. That upon this information he, Captn Pearis, sent for the Prisoner, and tax'd him with carrying off the King's Horses. And as the Prisoner could not give a Satisfactory Account, for being in Possession of them Captn Pearis order'd him to be confin'd 'till he procur'd Bail for his appearing in eight Days, & procuring the two Horses.

The Prisoner being ask'd by the Court, what right he had to take the Mare out of the Fort says, that he claim'd her, as his Brother's Property, and on that Claim obtained Leave to take her away, being ask'd if he attempted to send her back, or acquaint the Commanding Officer at Ft. Cumberland of his mistake, answers, not till he was sent for, which Captn Pearis says, was more than three Weeks after taking her away.

The Prisoner says also that he gave 25 Shillings for her to a Soldier of the 2d Virginia Regimt And as to the Horse, he says, he took his from John Goolding** & Danl McFall, out of Pitty, that he might not suffer by hunger. The Prisoner informs theCourt that Varnell had a parcell of Tires, &c, conceal'd under his Bed, which he believes belong to the King's Waggons at Fort Cumberland.

Lt. Ourry

(*James Gorrel was Richard's Lt. though the book, relying on the old militia rolls, says he was of Dagworthy's Co. See Washington's orders of 10 Nov 1658, prev. chapter. **Goolding, who sold the stolen horse, was from the 1st VA Regt.)

According to Lt. Ourry's journal, kept at Fort Bedford, on Tues 16 Jan 1759 he "Received William Darling, Waggoner, sent Prisoner by Capt. Pearis for embezzling the King's Horses. Confin'd him on the Gaol in this fort." Pearis & Gorrel came there for the trial on the 20th & left on Mon AM Jan 22 for Fort Cumberland. Darling was that day released on 200£ bail by John Cockendall for appearance in Hampshire Co. VA Court, thefollowing March 17th.

Before Richard left Fort Bedford, he consulted with Colonel Bouquet, telling him that the situation at Fort Cumberland was so bad that many of the disillusioned men were actually leaving the fort. The Colonel then drafted the following notice to the troops for Richard to read to the men in hopes of preventing further desertions.

Col. Bouquet to the Maryland Troops Fort Bedford 11 February 1759

To the Soldiers of the Maryland Forces in garrison at Fort Cumberland

Gentlemen
As it is represented to me by Capt Richd Pearis that you have received no Pay for a considerable Time, by which deficiency you are reduced to such distress that you think of abandonning the Fort if not relieved in a Short time.

I have there upon thought proper to let you know that the money lately voted by your Province as a gratification for your past good services, Shall be punctually paid to you, according to the Intentions of the Government, without any deduction for the advances you may have received from time to time, which advances are to be Stopped afterwards when you receive your full Pay: and in order to enable you to wait a few days for your Share of the above Gratification, I have impowred Capt Pearis to advance 20 Sh. to Each man, which Shall be deducted from ye said Gratification.

And whereas the Settling of your arrears and Pay requires Some time; I do expect from your Fidelity, honour, and duty, that you Shall wait patiently untill the 15th of March next by which time, and perhaps sooner, I hope to See all your affairs Settled to your satisfaction. I place such Confidence in you that I make no doubt of your ready Compliance to my desire, and I think you too wise to loose by a precipitate and rash Step, the fruit of all your Labours, your reputation, and your Money.

I propose to set out to morrow for the settlements where I shall represent in the Strongest terms to the General your Situation, and the Justice of your demands, and Shall inform Capt Pearis of the Success of my sollicitations in your favour.

It has been reported to me that one Balsar Kern, a Soldier, Should have Spread among you false Reports from me. That I had offered him ten Pistoles to Enlist in the R.A.R. and other infamous Insinuations tending to dispirit the Garrison, and make you take wrong and pernicious measures. I therefore have thought it necessary to inform you myself that I never did Speak to, or even Saw the Said Balsar Kern, who has basely and maliciously contrived the above falshood to bad Purpose; Therefore I have given Strict orders to Capt. Pearis to have the said Balsar Kearn tried by a Court Martial, and punished with the utmost severity of the Law against such Seditious discourses.

I recommand you again to have Patience, till you hear from me, which will be in a Short time, and to continue to do your duty in Such a manner as to inforce my Recommendations in your behalf and you may depend upon my utmost Endeavors to See you righted in your Pretensions. Given under my hand at Fort Bedford 22 January 1759

Col. Bouquet to General Forbes Fort Bedford 23 January 1759

Sir: I have seen with much pleasure from your letter of the 14th that you were so near Philadelphia, and that your trip in such a bad season has not made your condition worse. I trust the rest and care you will find in the city will soon restore your strength and health...

Captain Pearis arrived here yesterday from Cumberland and told me that the garrison had resolved to abandon the fort, as they no longer wished to serve without receiving their pay. With a great deal of trouble he made them promise to stay until he had spoken to me. He informed me that the province of Maryland had voted Ŀ1500 to be distributed as extra pay to their troops, on the refusal of the Council to pass the bill for their pay and arrears.

The soldiers who are at Fort Frederic have received their share of this extra pay, and Lt. Colonel Dagworthy must have the rest for the troops which are at Cumberland, but he has not written a word since his departure, and the soldiers make very insolent remarks regarding him and this money.

In the hope that the province will finally provide their pay, or the government if they default, I thought it my duty to prevent the complete desertion of these men by the only means which lay in my power, which was to write them the enclosed letter, which I hope you will approve under the present circumstances. Pearis believes they will make no difficulty about remaining on that footing until March 15th, a sufficient time to makea decision regarding them. I shall learn their decision by express.

The number of horses and wagons stolen during the campaign is so great that I have no doubt you will order search warrants in the three provinces. These rogues will betray one another, and punishing them will prevent similar crimes in another campaign. Captain Pearis sent me a prisoner, a Virginia farmer, who stole two horses. I had him examined by a court of inquiry, and released under bail of Ŀ200 sterling.

Capt. Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberld Jany 23d 1759 9 0 Clock

Sir I am sorry I have to inform you that on the 21st Inst at Night Deserted from here Serjt Fill* and fourteen Men with him Notwithstanding the Promises they Made to me, agreeable to your Orders. I Read your letter to those Remaining, they all Return you harty thanks for your kind Proposals, and Care for them and says they will do their Duty with Spirit agreeable to your Request untill the 15th of March, I [illegible] beleeave if those that Deserted on the twenty first, had not been gon before I Came home they would not gon. tomorrow Morning I send Ensign Love with the Coppy of your letter after those that are gon hopeing that it will have the Desired Effect on them to Return. I also send a copy to Governer Sharpe with a list of the Deserted in hopes he will send some of them Back in Case they go to Annopolis. Balser Kern shall be tried to morrow. the Rest of the men Appeares to be Much Displeased with him for his false seditious Reports.

(*Sgt John Fell--the book says both he and Ensign Philip Love were in Dagworthy's company, relying on the muster rolls now out of date. They were both in Captain Pearis's company.)

Capt. Pearis to Lewis Ourry (ade Quartermaster General at Fort Bedford)

Dr Sir Fort Cumberland 31 January 1759

Since I have Wrote my sentiments to Coll: Bouquet and you, I am informed by Mr. Love that Coll. Dagworthy sent 100 pounds of the Present Money to Mr. Riley* who is now Deceased to bring here for the men at this Garrison, I Cant see the Reason why he Did not send the whole without he Intends to Defraud them out of it, as the Men says, for I think

he has no right to make any stopages. Also, I have Just heard by Mr. Love that Coll Dagworthy gave privit Orders to Mr. Lenox unknown to me who he new was to Command untill he Came, to let aney of the Men have furloughs that wanted them which he had don without my leave Notwithstanding the Generalls orders for 100 men to be kept here. This I beg you would aquaint Coll Bouquet with or enclose this to him. Am Quite tired of this Command without Matters were Carried on in a more Juster manner than has Been.

(*Lt. James Riley or Ryley died of smallpox at Fort Frederick on 26 Jan)

Capt. Pearis to Col. Bouquet Fort Cumberland 5 February 1759

Sir

I send you Inclosed the Proceedings of a Court Martial held to try Corpol. (John) Ragon of Coll Dagworthys Company where in You'l see what insulting Mutenus behavour Rains amongst the Men of this Garrison Notwithstanding ye Money I have paid them Agreeable to your Orders, and the Promises made by them. I have sent the above Ragon Prisoner to Fort Bedford untill your pleasure is known, knowing him to be a Soer of Muteney amongst the Rest. I also send you a Return of what Horses loaded with flower has pass'd for Pitsburg since my last, many more yet following. According to Your Order I sent to William Rosses, who was Accused by Creasep for Concealing some of his Majestys Horses, where Ensign Mearns found three, two of which appeares to belong to the Virginia Officers andone to his Majesty. Ross says he took them up in the Woods, also Ross informes me on one Eves and one Plum who lives at Cresaps that they have Conceald ten or twelve of his Majestys Horses. Cresaps Servant Man Confirms what Ross says, only he says ther is but seven of them belongs to the King. I have sent an officer to bring both Men and Horses in Case they are taken, would Be Glad to Receive Your Orders how to Proceed, Nothing else Extrodinary.

(William Ross had a home on So. Branch of Potomac River. Thomas Cresap, a frontier leader, had a settlement near present-day Oldtown MD. William Ives or Eives, an Indian trader, deserted from Dagworthy's Co. the previous July. He was killed by Indians in 1763.)

ENCLOSURE--PROCEEDINGS OF COURT MARTIAL

A Court Martial Held at Fort Cumberland the 5th Day of February 1759

Lieut William Linn Pres..._Members_Lt. James_Gorrel._Ens. Samuel Mearns
To try such Prisoners as Shal be Brought Before them.
Jno Ragon Corpl confind By Capt Richd Pearis for Goeing from the Garrison Seven Miles Without Leave threatning to Desert if he Could Gett Any Good fellow to Goe wth Him & Insulting Ensn Love. The Prisoner being Examind Confesses he went to Isaac Colliers without Leave.

George Teeter* of Capt Alexr Bealls Compy Being Examind Says that this Morning in ye Hospital he heard the Prisoner Say that if he had but a Good Fellow wth him he Soon would Goe of for He had No Right to Doe Duty in this Place without pay. Ensn Love Proves to the Court that he Saw the Prisoner on the Parade & Knowing him to be Confind Ordered

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*This young man, George Teter, by then a Sgt. in the 1st VA Regt., two years later became Richard's son-in-law. Data about ordinary people so long ago is now rare. Though stationed at Fort Bedford, this proves the two were already acquainted. Both were from the Winchester area but of different backgrounds. George is also our ancestor.

him to ye inside of ye Guard Room & Said it was a fine Usage on these words ye Prisoner Damd him & the Usage too, and the Prisoner Confesses he Expressed the Words.

The Prisoner in His Defence Says he thought he had No Right to Ask Leave to Goe Abroad he Serving without Pay.

The Nature of the Prisoners Crime being Such that ye Court Judges thot they have Not a Right to Pass Sentance on Such Crime it Being of too henious a Nature.

(Comment: The meanings of words and phrases have changed so much in almost 2½ centuries that I cannot translate all of it, especially what they meant by henious, but when Ragon said he had no right, he meant that it was not morally right that he should have to serve without pay. Heinous means hateful.)

Lewis Ourry's letter below is presented in its entirety partly to show how trying a job it was to be a Quartermaster in those years.

Lieut. Lewis Ourry to Colonel Bouquet Fort Bedford 9 February 1759

Dear Colonel Captain Pearis, who has sent me two Loads of Hay, acquaints me that Several Horses have been found, conceal'd by divers Persons who, as soon as detected, discover others, which he has sent an Officer to take up. And he asks my Opinion, what he is to do with them. I told him I would write to receive your Directions on that head. But in the meantime I thought he would do well to make them produce the Horses immediately andgive Bond for their appearance at the next Court, and to make what Discoveries he could by taking Depositions of all Informers.

As I have now, many Horses up here, and plenty of Forrage, I hope to send you soon agreeable Returns of the Provisions in the upper Garrisons. The Horses gone by Bradocks Road have met with some obstacle or other, for tho 196 had passed by Fort Cumberland between the 23d of January & the 5th Inst not onewas arrived at Pittsburgh the 3d as Col Mercer informs me. But a Suttler who left that Place the 3d at Night, tells me that Intelligence was just brought to the Colonel, of upwards of 200 Horses being within 20 Miles, and that he sent out a Party to meet them.. As I suppose I shall be order'd down very Soon I would be glad to know whether any body is coming to releive me, or if I am to leave the transacting of this business to the Commanding Officer, to whom I have hinted that I immagin'd it might fall to his Lot..and have been Striving to initiate him in that agreable Amusement, for which he does not shew the Strongest Inclination. My right hand man Boggs theHorse Master, will ease him much in the Laborious part, but I believe he will need more Assistance in the other Details.

The Country People coming with Corn to sell here & Liquor etc to carry up are returning with a thousand requests & Difficulties will perplex anybody that is not a little innur'd to that variety of Occurences &.. throw things in great Confusion. The want of ready Money cause abundance of Trouble when one has to deal with People from Sundry remote Places... I have lower'd the Price ofGrain, And tho' I at first gave Forrage to encourage People to go up to Pittsburgh, I charge them for what they take now to be deducted from the Price of their Goods, which lessens both the demand and the expense.....

(Horses and backcountry farmers found the way to Fort Pitt through the wilderness harrowing. The King's Horses often got lost.)

Quoting General Forbes, in mid-November 1758, his army was "400 miles in the wilderness through the most miserable roads in the world," ill-clothed with winter closing in, short of blankets, tents lacking, with food only on a day-to-day basis. He was about to turn back when Captain Pearis and his reconnoitering Indian spies saw smoke billowing out over Fort Duquesne and fleeing Frenchmen. Considering their part of the war over, most troops left, their respective colonies unwilling to pay for them. But His Majesty's government, now still in the midst of a worldwide "War for Empire" in New York, Canada, Europe and India,and demanding that Fort Pitt be established there to hold onto the conquered territory, now took over the cost of salaries and material. The task of getting supplies there, awesome under the best of circumstances,was made almost impossible by the extreme severity of the weather that followed, but act they must, and Indian goods were an immediate necessity to placate the fickle local Indian tribes, now in self-interest declaring their friendship for the English. They might turn at any moment (as they did a decade later with dire consequences).

Captain Richard Pearis, Commander at Fort Cumberland, now stayed on to be a part of His Majesty's team, he to ensure as best he could that supplies get through the rugged old Braddock's Road route. That task was greatly complicated by the ensuing weather--heavy snows then record-breaking floods and rain. Currents on the rivers were so swift that bridges washed out, including the one at Will's Creek next to the fort. Many men and horses perished trying to get supplies across. Canoes and cargo were swept away.

Now we introduce a new character, a conscientious young Quaker named James Kenney, who kept a diary starting "1758 12 month 10th day" describing his attempts to help "ye public interest" at that crucial time. It is particularly precious to us descendants because it contains rare details about "ye Captain's wife," our ancestress, who was living there at the fort with him. Though it was not mentioned, one supposes the children, including our young Sarah, named for his mother, were probably there also, danger from war being over. * Quoting Mrs. Billie Pringle,

"In 1758 James Kenny had charge of the trading store established by the commissioners of Indian affairs of the Province (of Pennsylvania). He was a Quaker from a Chester Co. family, residing at Kennett Square. His mother lived there. Closely following success of the expedition against Ft. Duquesne under General Forbes, Israel Pemberton wrote a letter to Kenny asking him to speak to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. (Kenny went there the very day he received the letter.) Israel was concerned that delays were dangerous to public interest, in not sending goods in due time to ye westward. He wanted to send a quantity of goods to ye General to be applied as he would think best among the western Indians. And someone must go to see ye goods delivered. He would send me to see ye goods delivered."

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*James Kenny's "Journal to ye Westward" 1758-59 Ed. John W. Jordan, Penn. Jnl of History & Biography, Vol 37:395 et seq.

Billie (Mrs. Allan) Pringle, my sweet sister, discovered this article and sent it to me as a birthday present after the rest of this book was written.

Lieut Ourry to Col Bouquet   Fort Bedford 26 February 1759

Dear Coll Since my last to you of the 24th Curt I have receiv'd two Letrs from Captn Pearis, who informs me that Numbers of People returning from Pittsburgh have been greatly distress'd having suffer'd much hardship, through cold & hunger, & sustain'd great losses by the Death & loss of their Horses, Starved & Stray'd. Some that took up Six brought back one, some two. Several Men in Swimming their Horses, nearly lost their Lives. He has assisted them, & got the Flatt afloat which is of great Service. He recommends building another, about 5 Mile below Cressaps, one at Bruery Cox, as being between 30 & 40 Miles nearer from Winchester than the other Road, by that means he thinks the People from those parts would be encouraged to carry up Provisions. He has recover'd 8 or 10 Horses which I have sent for.

He acquaints me also that he has receiv'd Directions from Sir John St. Clair to receive in his Stores a Quantity of Indian Goods 'till they can be transported to Pittsburgh. They are arrived there.

The list at right is the goods he sent the next day by Ambrose Newton, Conductor to the Royal Artillery.

Fort Bedford, not shown on the map in Ghapter Nine, was NNE of Fort Cumberland where Captain Pearis was in command, but the latter was on the old Braddock Road, whereas Bedford was on Forbes Road. Neither were more than rough, stumpy trails, but Braddock's was rougher by far and more dangerous from swollen creeks. The bulk of the supplies there came from across the Potomac in VA, whereas Bedford was provisioned by good Pennsylvania farmers.

Provisions for Fort Pitt came through both of these forts.

INVOICE: INDIAN STORES

To 39 Horse Loads sent by Christopher Smith the Particulars are as followeth	Horse Master	
To Blankets	468	
English Match Coats	45	
French Brown Match Coats	116	
White old ones	5	
French White Match Coats	80	
Scalping Knives Dozens	27 – 7	
Clasp Knives Dozens	73	
Black and White Beads about lb.	4	
Brass Rings Dozens	30	
Sleive Buttons Dozens	3	
Pipe Tomahokes	16	
Gun Locks	23	
Yelow Binding Peices	12	
Gartring Peices	2	
Wire about lb.	1½	
Vermillion about lb	2	
Check Shirts	18	
White Ruffled	2	
Aul Blades Dozens	7	
Jews Harps Dozens	6 – 9	
Some Screw Nails for the Guns	..	
Half thick for Stockings Yards	38¼	
Strouding Half thick Yards	7	
2 Peices of Strip'd Flannel Yards	17½	
1 Remnant of a Peice of White Linn ab^t 2 Shirts	..	
Blew Britch Clout Yards	11	
Peices of Half thick	10	
Peices of Callico	1	
Pairs of Red Half thick stockings	1	
Barr Lead, Peices	984	Barrs
Flints about	2000	
Tin Quart Mugs	16	
Tin Pints Ditto	39	
Indian Guns	20	
Pistols	2	
Silver Gorgets	18	
Silver Lac'd Hats	22	
White Wampum	2000	
Tomahoaks	96	

[*Endorsed*] Indian Goods Sent to Pittsburgh

None of the Deserters being return'd, but on the contrary several more having lately gone off, & the few remaining being discontented & not to be relied on. And this Additional Store of Indian Goods being lodged there, I took the Liberty to remind Captn Davis of the Reinforcement you mentioned in case that Place should be abandon'd, which he acquieced to send an Officer and twenty men, who March this Day. I suppose on their arrival the remainder of the Marylanders will all go away....

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 4 March 1759

Sir You have the Monthly Returns by Mr Ourry, who I have sent them to, as I am informed you are gon to Philadelphia. I Beg leave to trouble you, to Indeavour to have my Indians Accounts Setled, which is in the hands of Capt Bozmouth (note-Captain Abraham Bosomworth) as I cant attend myself. I hope you wount think it two troublesome to see them adjusted and Setled.

The Men left in this Garrison wates Impatient untill the fifteenth of March when they will all abanden the Fort without their pay, there is maney of them at Fort Frederick that left this is Willing to Return on hearing of theirMoney being Come. I hope at least you'l order the Present money here that I may be able to stop what I advanced by Your Order. You'l see by the Return that there is Maney of them Deserted sence I advanced to them and purhaps may Receive the whole money Below.

Bouquet to Pearis (letter never found to but acknowledged below)

Capt Pearis to Col Bouquet Fort Cumberland 17 March 1759

Sir With great satisfaction I Receiv'd your favour this Day & Read part of your Letter to the men in this Garrison indeavouring to let them kno of the maney Disappointments you Laboured Under in Regard to the setling of their affairs, which I have made them sensible of, and are Quite Satisfied untill your farther Orders is known, on the 15th I was Obliged to Confine 13 of the Men and on the 16th they Petitioned me for Releasment which I Granted on Promising they would stay till Your Letter Came. I this day Borrowed forty Pounds from Coll. Cresap to give them, which I belieave will satisfie them untill I Receive further Orders if soon. They blame Coll. Dagworthy greatly for keeping their Present Money from them as they have Never Receiv'd one farthing of it yet. I hope youl take care to Order it here that I may be able to make Stopages for what I have advanced for them.

If the Men had got that Present money when Granted by the Province, I am Confident the cheafest Part of them would abeen here yet. Inclosed you have a Return of the strength of the Garrison. I am sorry to hear General Forbes' ill state of health. I will use all Proper means to Continue the Men untill I Receive further Orders. I have no News. I am Sir Your most Obedient Humble Servt.

P. S. Sir, I relie on your Intrust in regard to my Private Affares.

(Colonel Thomas Cresap, the man who lent the money, lived at Oldtown, Maryland, on the far western frontier. The enclosed return of troops has not been found.)

Brigadeer General Jeffrey Amherst to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir New York 18 March 1759

It having become Necessary, by the Demise of Brig^{r} Gen^{r} Forbes, that an Officer of Rank and Experience shoud without Loss of Time proceed to pensylvania to take on him the Command of his Majestys Regular Troops and those to be raised by the Southern Provinces to Act in conjunction for the Defence and Security of those Provinces, or otherwise as opportunities shall offer, or the Exigences may require I have thought it for the good of his Majestys Service to appoint Brig. Gen. Stanwix to that Command and he does accordingly set out Tomorrow for philadelphia to take upon him the same; I am therefore to request you that during such his Command, you will upon every immergent Occasion, Correspond and co-operate with him in the same manner as you are enjoined by M^{r} Secretary Pitts Letter to do with me, which must prove of great Benefit to the publick Service, as from my removal from hence into the Back Country, whether I may be called soon, it prove very prejudicial to the safety and security of the southern provinces to wait for the answers to any of the Letters you may have Occasion to write to me in relation thereto and I have accordingly directed Brig. Gen. Stanwix to Correspond and co-operate with you in Like manner.

I am, with great Regard
Sir Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier to Maryland Governor Horatio Sharpe

Sir Williamsburgh 19 March 1759

The Expedition which is requisite to be used, in order to raise Men to compleat our Quota of Men to act in conjunction with the rest of his Majesties Forces, has encouraged me to give Leave to some of the Officers to try whether they can enlist any in your Colony where they think they have some Acquaintance and Interest. I therefore beg the Favour of you not only to give them Permission, but to assist them with your Countenance and Protection for the promoting his Majesties Service at least so as not to interfere with any Levies your Colony is about to raise for the same Purpose. I am with great Esteem uour Excellency's most Obdt Hum. Servt Fran: Fauquier

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It was about this time that the Cherokees had gone over to the side of the French! This must have caused Captain Richard Pearis much heartache. No wonder he had implored Col. Bouquet to "have my Indians Accounts Setled." It must have been soon after this that his future son-in-law, George Teeter, of Captain Beall's Company, enlisted as a corporal in the First Virginia Regiment, Captain Nathaniel Gist's Company.

These two letters from Maryland Archives 9:213-4

31 March 1759

PEARIS: DIMENSIONS OF BRIDGE

[B. M., Add. MSS. 21644, f. 119, A. D. S.] Bouquet Papers

Fort Cum^{d} March 31st 1759

A Return of the Dementions of a Bridg to be made over Will's Creek[1] supposed to be sufficient to stand any flood. With the Dementions of two Connewe's [canoes] already made for the use of his Majesty's Service at this Garrison.

	Feet	Inch^{s}
The length of the Bridg	270	
The N^{o} of Pillers is 6 Each Piller	24	
and	12	
The Highth	20	
The form of y^{e} Pillers to be filled with stone		
The length of the large Connew is	29	
The Wedth is	2	6
The Debth is	1	7
The length of the Small Connew	20	
The Wedth	1	9
Debth	1	5

If it's thought Proper to be ordered made by these Dementions I think it will stand any Flood & will be of the utmost Service for Carrage's Passing for Pittsburg both from Virginia & Mary^{d} and in purticular this Garrison as Timber is very inconvenient to be got any other place then by Crossing Will's Creek, some People on their Return from Pittsburg has been oblige to stay here this 4 Days on aCount of the Creek being so high and Rapped that y^{e} Connew Could not Cross and likely to stay severall days longer without Swiming their horses, one ho[r]se was Drowned Yester Day attempting to swem it.

Rich^{d} Pearis

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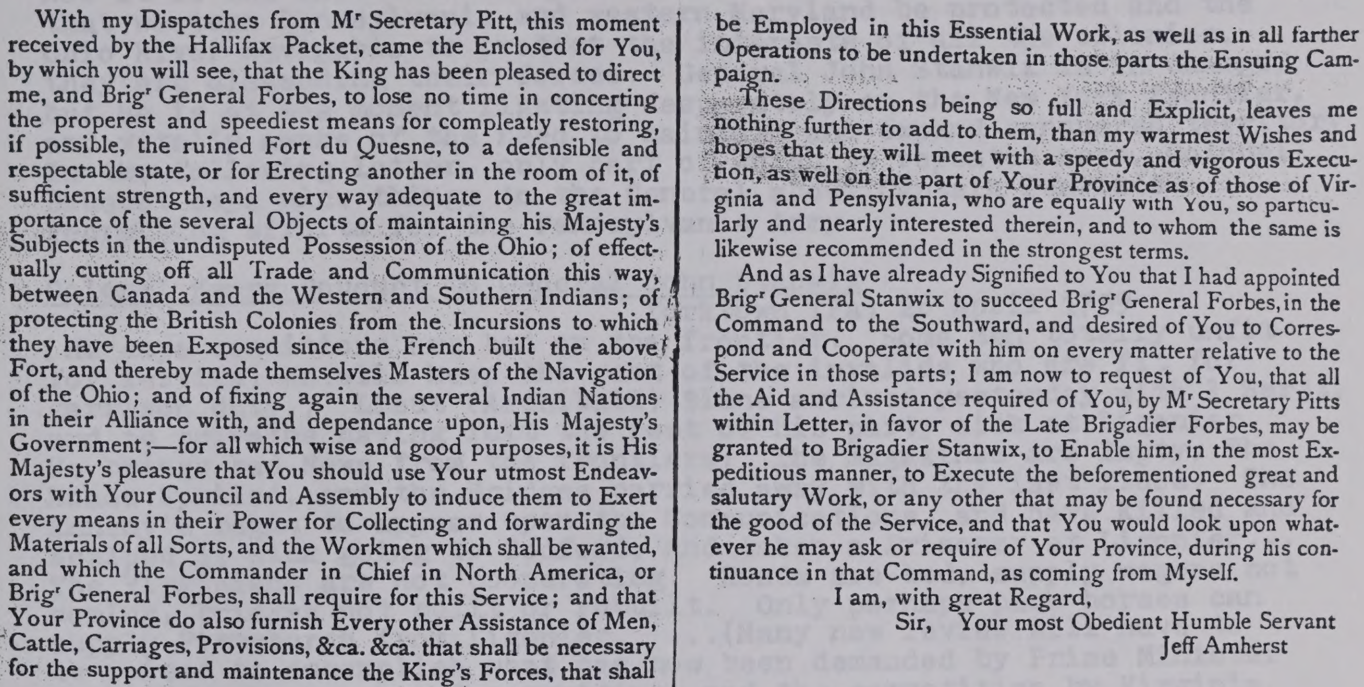
[1] On the Potomac River at present site of Cumberland, Md.

As following pages show, there was a desperate need for this bridge and several others which Captain Pearis would soon build. Note the size of the "connews." Men were smaller then than now.

General Amherst to Governor Sharpe

New York 28 March 1758

Sir



With my Dispatches from M^r Secretary Pitt, this moment received by the Hallifax Packet, came the Enclosed for You, by which you will see, that the King has been pleased to direct me, and Brig^r General Forbes, to lose no time in concerting the properest and speediest means for compleatly restoring, if possible, the ruined Fort du Quesne, to a defensible and respectable state, or for Erecting another in the room of it, of sufficient strength, and every way adequate to the great importance of the several Objects of maintaining his Majesty's Subjects in the undisputed Possession of the Ohio; of effectually cutting off all Trade and Communication this way, between Canada and the Western and Southern Indians; of protecting the British Colonies from the Incursions to which they have been Exposed since the French built the above Fort, and thereby made themselves Masters of the Navigation of the Ohio; and of fixing again the several Indian Nations in their Alliance with, and dependance upon, His Majesty's Government;—for all which wise and good purposes, it is His Majesty's pleasure that You should use Your utmost Endeavors with Your Council and Assembly to induce them to Exert every means in their Power for Collecting and forwarding the Materials of all Sorts, and the Workmen which shall be wanted, and which the Commander in Chief in North America, or Brig^r General Forbes, shall require for this Service; and that Your Province do also furnish Every other Assistance of Men, Cattle, Carriages, Provisions, &ca. &ca. that shall be necessary for the support and maintenance the King's Forces, that shall be Employed in this Essential Work, as well as in all farther Operations to be undertaken in those parts the Ensuing Campaign.

These Directions being so full and Explicit, leaves me nothing further to add to them, than my warmest Wishes and hopes that they will meet with a speedy and vigorous Execution, as well on the part of Your Province as of those of Virginia and Pensylvania, who are equally with You, so particularly and nearly interested therein, and to whom the same is likewise recommended in the strongest terms.

And as I have already Signified to You that I had appointed Brig^r General Stanwix to succeed Brig^r General Forbes, in the Command to the Southward, and desired of You to Correspond and Cooperate with him on every matter relative to the Service in those parts; I am now to request of You, that all the Aid and Assistance required of You, by M^r Secretary Pitts within Letter, in favor of the Late Brigadier Forbes, may be granted to Brigadier Stanwix, to Enable him, in the most Expeditious manner, to Execute the beforementioned great and salutary Work, or any other that may be found necessary for the good of the Service, and that You would look upon whatever he may ask or require of Your Province, during his continuance in that Command, as coming from Myself.

I am, with great Regard,
Sir, Your most Obedient Humble Servant
Jeff Amherst

Maryland Archives 9:324-5

All this has left Governor Sharpe "up the crick without a paddle," as the old saying goes. In a letter to Calvert on 17 April 1759 he laments that only a court of Inquiry by the King's Ministers could resolve the dispute between the MD Upper and Lower Houses and get funds loosened up.

Governor Sharpe, an intelligent man, can see the wisdom in Minister Pitt's desire to restore the ruined Fort du Quesne and open up the navigation of the Ohio to the English. Brigadier-General John Stanwix would quickly embark on this task, now that he had been appointed to succeed General John Forbes, who had recently died in Philadelphia.

So now it is time to tie up loose ends. No quitter, Richard stayed with the fort until all the Maryland troops were gone, which was soon after that. We have seen from a previous page showing Maryland Assembly Upper House proceedings of 22 June 1768 that they finally got around to paying Captain Richard Pearis his salary of four hundred pounds. Captain Pearis, who had been so concerned about getting his soldiers and his Indians paid, had all of this time received no salary himself. Is that patriotic, or what?? (And there are still historians reading the old propaganda who style him as devious and grasping, a liar who would do anything--even horse thievery--for a little money!) And before 1768 but still in the future, the Lower House on 25 Nov 1763 voted to pay 23 persons small amounts for "sundry services at the fort." He received 17 shillings 6 pence then.

Now it is the last week of April. Though it is vitally necessary that western Pennsylvania and western Maryland be protected and the Ohio River navigable to protect the interests of all the colonies, they are disbanding their forces. General John Stanwix is in charge, but he is at the moment fighting desperately on the New York frontier, and vitally aware of the need to maintain and expand conquered territory. In the following letter, only part of which is repeated here, Colonel Bouquet says nice things to the General about Captain Pearis's recruiting efforts for the Pennsylvania Army.

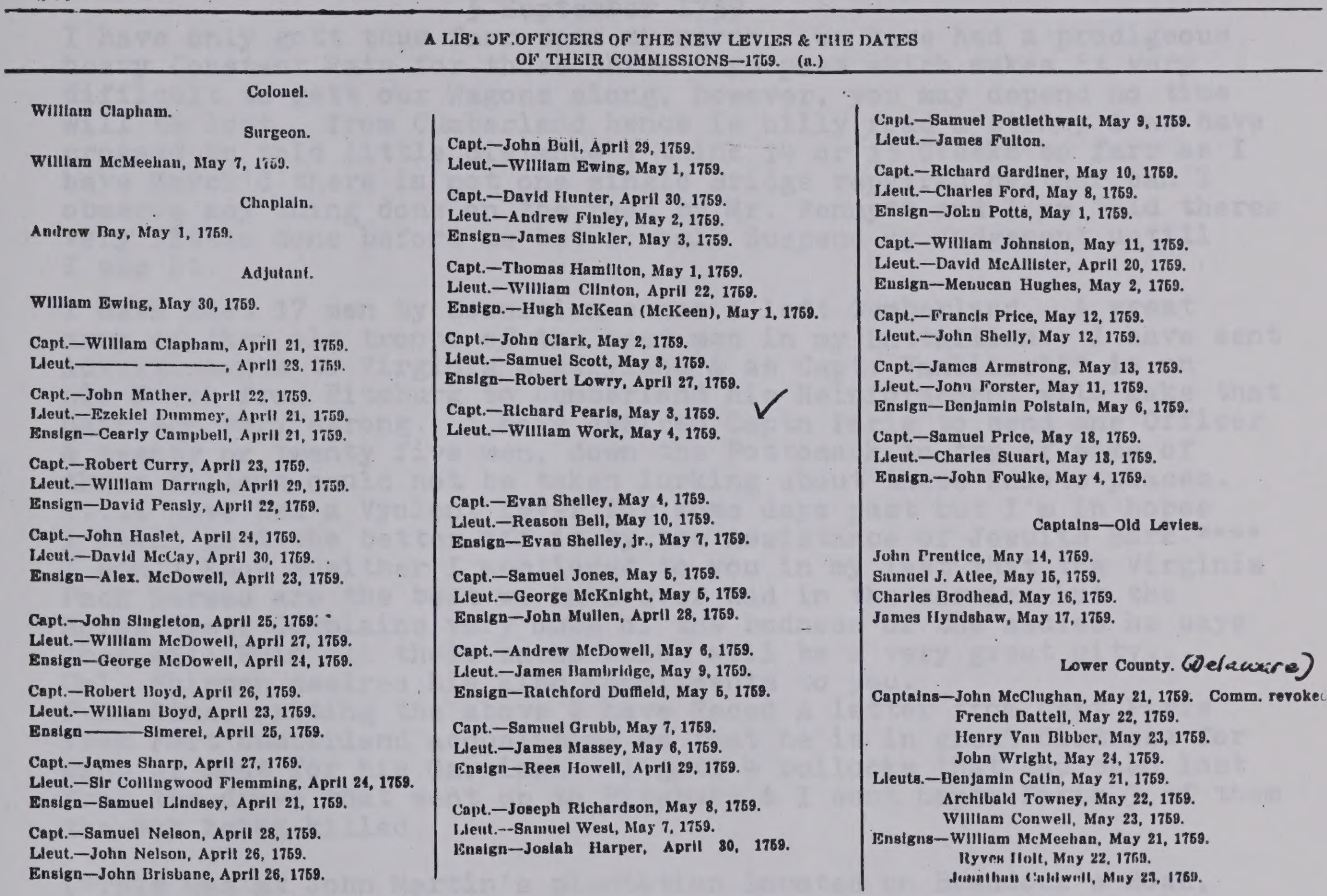
Colonel Henry Bouquet to General John Stanwix
Yorktown (PA) 26 April 1759

[He says conditions are bad on the frontier. Some men totally unfit for service. He will keep the rest of the invalids who are fit for garrison duty.) Lieut (Archibald) Blane arrived yesterday with 1 Serjt, and 18 privates having left the rest of his party sick at Ligonier. He brings bad News from the frontiers: The Magazines are Empty, The Roads Spoiled, and the Bridges carried away with the last flood. The Ennemy's begin to appear upon the Communications, and have killed and Scalped 11 sick going to Bedford, and taken a Prisoner at Ligonier... The Virginians are not cooperating. Roads are bad, supply wagons not coming, bridges not built or rebuilt. Only perhaps pack horses can supply Pittsburgh from Ligonier. ...(Many new levies will have to be raised to accomplish what has now been demanded by Prime Minister Pitt) Now he speaks of recruiting, and the competition by Virginia for the departing Maryland soldiers and others. They are offering a pretty good bounty in VA.]

(Lieut. James) Ralfe has got twenty men at Fort Cumberland which he brought yesterday. He would have inlisted the 14 remaining had not some of their officers interfered. Col. Byrd had Sent one of his officers to that Post who offered £10 Bounty, but Ralfe had been beforehand..and he did not get one. Captain Pearis who goes down was very assistant. I promised and paid him 30 shillings currency for Each man for his trouble and supposed expenses on that Occasion. I think he would be able to raise 50 or 60 more in Maryland if you thought proper to make an agreement with him. There are four officers of the Marylanders remaining at Cumberland who, having been ordered there by Brigr. Forbes, desires your order for their conduct. The men being near all gone, they can be of no further service there as their Province does not Seem disposed to pay them........

In Review: Much had changed since Richard left Virginia. Francis Fauquier was now governor. Col. Washington had wooed and won the hand of widow Martha Custis, and had settled down to plantation life and a seat in the House of Burgesses. William Byrd III was now Colonel of the Virginia Forces. Richard still owned the plantation near Winchester but how often he got there after the late ruckus is open to question. Details of what there was of a personal life are unknown, but he must have been with his wife sometimes, for he had three sons and four daughters, mostly if not all grown before the Revolutionary War broke out. But even if he had been very popular in his home state he would NEVER have volunteered to fight the Cherokees!

CHAPTER ELEVEN - CAPTAIN PEARIS, THIRD BATALLION PENNSYLVANIA REGT.



A LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE NEW LEVIES & THE DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS—1759. (a.)

Colonel.

William Clapham.

Surgeon.

William McMeehan, May 7, 1759.

Chaplain.

Andrew Bay, May 1, 1759.

Adjutant.

William Ewing, May 30, 1759.

Capt.—William Clapham, April 21, 1759.
Lieut.——— ————, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—John Mather, April 22, 1759.
Lieut.—Ezekiel Dummey, April 21, 1759.
Ensign—Cearly Campbell, April 21, 1759.

Capt.—Robert Curry, April 23, 1759.
Lieut.—William Darragh, April 29, 1759.
Ensign—David Peasly, April 22, 1759.

Capt.—John Haslet, April 24, 1759.
Lieut.—David McCay, April 30, 1759.
Ensign—Alex. McDowell, April 23, 1759.

Capt.—John Singleton, April 25, 1759.
Lieut.—William McDowell, April 27, 1759.
Ensign—George McDowell, April 24, 1759.

Capt.—Robert Boyd, April 26, 1759.
Lieut.—William Boyd, April 23, 1759.
Ensign———Simerel, April 25, 1759.

Capt.—James Sharp, April 27, 1759.
Lieut.—Sir Collingwood Flemming, April 24, 1759.
Ensign—Samuel Lindsey, April 21, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Nelson, April 28, 1759.
Lieut.—John Nelson, April 26, 1759.
Ensign—John Brisbane, April 26, 1759.

Capt.—John Bull, April 29, 1759.
Lieut.—William Ewing, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—David Hunter, April 30, 1759.
Lieut.—Andrew Finley, May 2, 1759.
Ensign—James Sinkler, May 3, 1759.

Capt.—Thomas Hamilton, May 1, 1759.
Lieut.—William Clinton, April 22, 1759.
Ensign.—Hugh McKean (McKeen), May 1, 1759.

Capt.—John Clark, May 2, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel Scott, May 3, 1759.
Ensign—Robert Lowry, April 27, 1759.

Capt.—Richard Pearis, May 3, 1759. ✓
Lieut.—William Work, May 4, 1759.

Capt.—Evan Shelley, May 4, 1759.
Lieut.—Reason Bell, May 10, 1759.
Ensign—Evan Shelley, jr., May 7, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Jones, May 5, 1759.
Lieut.—George McKnight, May 5, 1759.
Ensign—John Mullen, April 28, 1759.

Capt.—Andrew McDowell, May 6, 1759.
Lieut.—James Bambridge, May 9, 1759.
Ensign—Ratchford Duffield, May 5, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Grubb, May 7, 1759.
Lieut.—James Massey, May 6, 1759.
Ensign—Rees Howell, April 29, 1759.

Capt.—Joseph Richardson, May 8, 1759.
Lieut.—Samuel West, May 7, 1759.
Ensign—Josiah Harper, April 30, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Postlethwait, May 9, 1759.
Lieut.—James Fulton.

Capt.—Richard Gardiner, May 10, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Ford, May 8, 1759.
Ensign—John Potts, May 1, 1759.

Capt.—William Johnston, May 11, 1759.
Lieut.—David McAllister, April 20, 1759.
Ensign—Menucan Hughes, May 2, 1759.

Capt.—Francis Price, May 12, 1759.
Lieut.—John Shelly, May 12, 1759.

Capt.—James Armstrong, May 13, 1759.
Lieut.—John Forster, May 11, 1759.
Ensign—Benjamin Polstain, May 6, 1759.

Capt.—Samuel Price, May 18, 1759.
Lieut.—Charles Stuart, May 18, 1759.
Ensign.—John Foulke, May 4, 1759.

Captains—Old Levies.

John Prentice, May 14, 1759.
Samuel J. Atlee, May 15, 1759.
Charles Brodhead, May 16, 1759.
James Hyndshaw, May 17, 1759.

Lower County. (Delaware)

Captains—John McClughan, May 21, 1759. Comm. revoke
French Battell, May 22, 1759.
Henry Van Bibber, May 23, 1759.
John Wright, May 24, 1759.
Lieuts.—Benjamin Catin, May 21, 1759.
Archibald Towney, May 22, 1759.
William Conwell, May 23, 1759.
Ensigns—William McMeehan, May 21, 1759.
Ryves Holt, May 22, 1759.
Jonathan Caldwell, May 23, 1759.

PA Arch. (5th Series 1:295)(1906)

I have not yet found any rosters of Captain Pearis's Pennsylvania troops if they still exist, but it is obvious from what Col. Bouquet wrote to General Stanwix that some of them were Marylanders. It would be interesting to compare the list to his last Maryland command to see how many stayed with him but, as we have seen, that roll has not been preserved for posterity. The Maryland Gazette item on page 95 shows him in Annapolis recruiting as late as 14 June 1759, and we know that he had Governor Sharpe's blessing to do it.

Bouquet Papers do not mention him again until early September, still very busy at Fort Cumberland. One assumes, because the need was so obviously there, that much of his time, besides recruiting, was spent in making the route to Pittsburgh safer. Not only was Braddock's Road deteriorated and overgrown through neglect and bridges washed out, but northern Indians were increasingly on the prowl again, even with less French instigation.

Col. James Burd to Col. Henry Bouquet

My Sear Sir Camp at Martines* 10 miles from Fort Cumberland
5 September 1759

I have only gott thus farr upon my march, we have had a prodigeous heavy Constant Rain for those three days past which makes it very difficult to gett our Wagons along, however, you may depend no time will be lost. from Cumberland hence is hilly road & stonny & we have crossed in this little distance I think 14 or 15 Creeks so farr as I have March'd there is not one single Bridge repaired neither can I observe any thing done on the road by Mr. Fenny** and I am told theres very little done before me but I shall Suspend my Judgement untill I see it.

I have lost 17 men by Desertion since I left Cumberland. A great many of them old troops of the best men in my Battallion. I have sent Advertisments to Virginia & Maryland & as Capt. Vanbiber*** is on his March from Pitsburg to Cumberland his Reinforsement will make that Garrison very strong. I have desired Captn Paris to send one Officer & twenty or twenty five men, down the Pottomack to try if some of these fellows could not be taken lurking about these Remote places. ....I have had a Vyolent fever for some days past but I'm in hopes I shall gett the better off it by the Assistance of Jesuits Bark.**** I don't know wheither I mentioned to you in my last that the Virginia Pack horses are the best we have ever had in the service but the Horse Mastr Complains very much of the badness of the sadles he says they will Ruin all their backs which will be a very great pity... Col. Shippen desires his kind Compliments to you.
P.S. Since writing the above I have Reced A letter from Capt Paris from Fort Cumberland acquainting me that he is in great distress for want of meat for his Garrison. I gott 4 bullocks that had been lost from the drove that went up to Pitsburg & I sent Captn Paris 3 of them the 4th being killed.

(*This was at John Martin's plantation located on Braddock's Road, about halfway between Fort Cumberland --west of the fort-and Little Meadows overlooking present Frostburg MD. **Alexander Finnie, head sutler of the VA Regt. ***Capt. Henry Van Bibber of the Lower Counties (Delaware) troops. This is an exanple of the many areas from which the present War Department personnel came. ****also known as Peruvian bark, used to treat malaria and other maladies. In the present US known as marsh elder.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir Fort Cumberland 7 September 1759

Last Night I Recd a letter from Coll. Burd wherein he mentions 17 Men being deserted from him since He left this & desires that I would send 20 or 25 Men with Lt. West* to Scour the woods about Potomack in order to find them if Possible. I have offer'd the men to Mr. West but he says it is to no purpose to go out without he goes to Susquehannah or perhaps over, therefore I think Proppor not to let the Men go so far without your Orders. theron. I have therefore sent Mr. West to You in order to Receive Your instructions. I have just now

heard from Coll. Mercer he is Expected as far as Crissops** this Night. I have just now sent an Officer & 20 Men to Clear the Roads as far as Ashby's Fort*** Have also sent another Party clearing the Road to Crissops meddow. they are in great want of Axes. I hear of no Provision comeing from Virginia.
(*Lt. Samuel West had at Burd's request come there on his way to deliver the above letter to Bouquet.**Col Thomas Cresap, the man who had lent the money for the MD troops. ***Fort Ashby, now W VA, was located 5 miles south of the Potomac River on Patterson Creek. Captain (now Colonel) George Mercer was the Virginia officer (see page 68) who was so bewildered about how to deal with Swallow and the recalcitrant Wahachy two years before.)

The mention of all those Winchester people in the following communications, like Col. Mercer and provisioner Rutherford, made it sound to me as though they were speaking of Captain Robert Pearis rather than Richard. But the book positively identifies him as Captain Richard Pearis. Since he, also, was well acquainted with all those people, still had the plantation in Winchester, and the provisioners' route was certainly through Fort Cumberland, it does make sense that it would be he. So now we see him rubbing elbows with Virginians in a mutually cordial way.

Instructions to Captain Woodward (no signature)
Sir Fort Bedford 10 September 1759
In Answer to a Letter of this Day's Date to Colonel Bouquet, I am desired to inform you that Mr. Rutherford being acquainted with the scarcity of Provisions at Fort Comberld will immidiately Supply that Garrison. it is a Pity he was not informed of your Stock some time before it got so low.

I am Surpriz'd you could not get a Horse to Send with the Express, two went from hence to be Stationed at Fort Cumberland for that purpose. The two Hundred Pack Horses carrying from Winchester to Your Garrison are to be disposed of in the following manner. The first 100, loaded with Forrage, are to proceed to Pittsburgh, under Escort of an Officer & twenty Men of your Garrison (none of them to be of Burd's battalion) Pennsylvanians. The Second 100 partly loaded with Forrage & partly Flour, to go to Redstone Creek Escorted by Captn Pearis & his Company. *

The Bullocks also coming from Winchester to be forwarded to Pittsburgh and Escorted by an Officer & 25 Men. And as Lieut Jones of the 2d Batt Pennsylvania is to join his Corps at Red Stone Creek with his Party of 25 Men, you will Order him with the next Convoy that goes that Road, after Captn Pearis.

In general you are to furnish Small Escorts to any Considerable Convoy going either to Pittsburgh or Redstone Creek in Case they apply for it or as you Judge it necessary. Any Application from Lieut Coll George Mercer, for Men to Escort Convoys, or any Duty relating to the Service, is to be Complied wth. When the Pack Horses return from Pittsburgh or Red Stone Creek, They are to be put into Pasture to recruit, and allowed a reasonable time to get strength, and in that time the

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*See Fort Burd (Redstone Old Fort) on map preceding, also sketch next page. This was on Monongahela west of Braddock's Road, which was closer to the Youghiogheny.

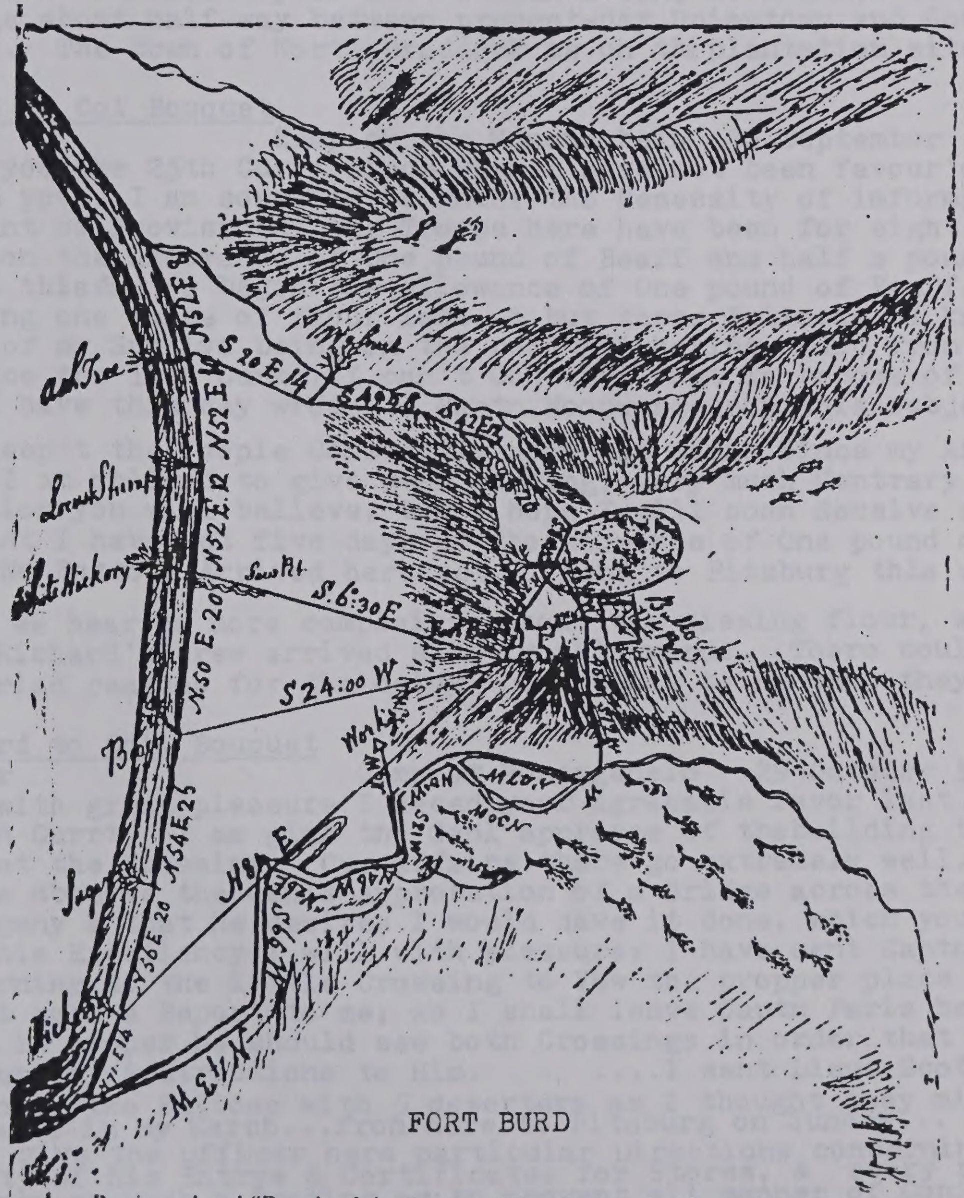
Saddles, Bags, &c are to be refitted, the Horses Shod and everything prepared for their next Trips. And theirloads to be either flour or forrage, every Bag to be weighed, and not to exceed 150 or 160, according to the strength of the Horses, who are for the rest of the Campaigne to Carry to Red Stone Creek only. And in Case you should be relieved, this is to be delivered to the Commanding Officer that Succeeds you, for his Instruction.

Col. Burd to General Stanwix

Camp at the Mouth of Memocallings* Creek on the Monongahela, one Mile above th Mouth of Redstone Creek

Sir 30 September 1759

I have cut the Road from Guests** and came to this Ground the 23rd Currt I would have wrote your Excellency ere now but have been hourly expecting the arrivall of a Battoe from Pitsburg.


FORT BURD
Ash Tree
Locust Stump
White Hickory
Sugar
Hickory
Saw Pit
Walnut
Work
S 20 E 14
S 6:30 E
S 24:00 W
N 52 E 8
N 52 E W
N 52 E 12
N 50 E 20
N 54 E 25
N 56 E 20
M E 4 N

Drawing endorsed "Draught of the Situation of Fort Burd on the Monongahela, Laid out by J.S. jr & built by a Detachment of Pennsylvanians under yᵉ Command of Colⁿ Jaˢ Burd in October 1759." [Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Shippen Family Papers,

I think this Will be a very fine Post. It is Situated upon a Hill in the fork of the River & Creek, Commands both, & is not Commanded by anything. the Hill is about fifty yards from the River & joins the Creek. I have kep't the People Constantly employed on the works since my Arrivall. Altho we have been for eight days past upon the Allowance of one poind of Beaff and half a pound of flour p man a day and this day we begin upon a pound of Beaff not having one ounce of flour left & only three bullocks I am therefore obliged to give over working untill I Receive some supplys, I have expected Captn Paris with a Quantity of Provisions some time, & know nothing of the Reason of the delay, I wrote Six days ago upon this Subject and shall send an Express to Cumberland this day.

(*Nemacolin. **Christopher Gist's Plantation, located on Nemacolin's path, was about half-way between present-day Uniontown and Connellsville PA. The town of North Braddock is on the plantation site.)

Col Burd to Col Bouquet

Dear Sir Camp on the Monongahela 30 September 1759

I wrote you the 25th Currt since when I have not been favour'd with any from you. I am sorry to be under the Nesessity of imformg you of my want of Provisions, the Troops here have been for eight days past, upon the allowance of One pound of Beaff and half a pound of flour, & this day we begin the allowance of One pound of Beaff, Only, not having one ounce of flour left, & but three Bullocks; I know nothing of my Supplys being on the road not having heard from Cumberland since the 14th Currt, I can't Conceive what is become of Captn Paris, I have this day wrote to Captn Woodward upon this subject.

I have keep't the People Constantly upon the works Since my Arrivall, but now I am obliged to give over working, very much Contrary to my Inclination you will believe, but I hope I will soon Receive supplys; at present I have but five days at the allowance of One pound of Beaff. No Battoes Arrived here yet, I send to Pitsburg this day.

(Since we hear no more complaints about the missing flour, we may assume Richard's crew arrived shortly afterwards. There could have been myriad reasons for the delay, conditions being what they were.)

Col. Burd to Col. Bouquet

Dear Sir Camp at Monongahelo 29 October 1759

It was with great pleasure I Reced your Agreeable favor last night of the 24th Currt. I am glad the Genl approves of the building the two houses at the Crossing. Our affairs there go extremely well. I likewise observe the Genls approbation of a Bridge across the Little Youghyogany & that he desires I would have it done, which you may assure his Excellency I will with pleasure; I have sent Captn Paris this morning to the little Crossing to Vew the propper place & to Return & make a Report to me; as I shall leave Captn Paris here I thought it proper he should see both Crossings in order that he might understand my instructions to Him. ....I sent Lieut Scott & four men in the Battoes with 5 deserters as I thought they might be a hindrance in my March...from here to Pitsburg on Sunday... I shall give the Officer here particular Directions concerning the Regularity of his Entrys & Certificates for Stores, & every respect leav things on such a footing as to prevent all manner of Confusion...

Col. James Burd - Instructions to Captain Richard Pearis

Sir Camp at Monongahela 29 October 1759

As I intend to leave you with those of your Company that are here to Garrison Fort Burd, and the Great Crossings of the Youghyoganey, You are to detatch One Serjt & ten Men to Garrisson the Block house & storehouse at the Crossing. Give the Serjt a particular Charge of the Flatt and what Stores may be left there &c with the Remainder of your Company. You'l Garrisson Fort Burd & you'l please receive into the King's Stores all Provision, Forrage &c that may be sent giving proper Certificates for the same & Inform the General or Colo Bouquet thereof that they may order up Batteaus to carry the Stores to Pitsburg.

You'l please to keep a Book in which you'l make regular Entrys of all the Stores you receive & what you send to Pitsburg sending all ways Invoices with all you send from hence. And you'l please observe that you myst raise three acctts in your Book viz One for Mr. Adam Hoops, one for Lieut Colo Geo: Mercer and one forMr. William Ramsay & in the Invoices you send to Pitsburg you'l mention of whom the different Articles are received.

You will proceed from hence to the Great Crossings this Morning & from thence you will take with yo Ensign Duffield with as many Men as can be spared from the Work there conveniently and goe to the little Crossing at Youghyogany and endeavour to find the best place there for building a strong Bridge with his Party and give him the necessary Instructions there anent; The Leggs must be well pin'd down upon the Peers with dry Locust Pinns and covered with good Fascines & Earth.

You'l please desire Mr. Duffield to keep a regular Acctt of the Men that work at both Places & I will gett them paid at Pittsburg & acquaint him that I will send a Waggon with Rum for the Men that work in the Water at the Bridge & all the Tools that he will want in a few Days.

As soon as Mr. Duffield has finish'd theBridge & the Houses & Flatt at the Great Crossings he is to march immediatly to Pitsburg with all the Soldiers of the Sec Battn The Ship Carpenters & Sawyers & to carry wth him in the Waggon all the Tools leaving only at the Great Crossing with the Serjeant two falling axes.

I must begg that you will superintend all New Works & contribute as much as yo can to have them soon finish'd and well; Shall always be glad to hear from you and I am with Esteem, Sir, Your most hble Servant

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Colonel Bouquet to Captain Pearis

Sir Fort Cumberland 27 November 1759

You are to march to morrow Morning with Your Company to the Bridge now making over The little Crossing ofthe Youghyogeny with four days Provision for your Party, Cutting and clearing away all The Trees & other incumbrances that you may find on the Road from hence to that place and Cut a New Road round such places as the Waggons can't pass

You will find A Tree with Three Noches upon it about A quarter of a Mile on this side the little Crossing, from which Tree you will open a New Road to the Bridge along the Valley, and from the other side of the Bridge you will cut as good a Road as you can into The present one. At the present Crossing you'l find a Bridge out of Repair, you'l cutt new Loggs and make it Sufficient.

You are to Join Ensign Duffields Party and work upon the Bridge until it is quite Compleated, after which you are to march your whole Detachment to Fort Bedford and there wait for further Orders. when you have finished Bridge you will find at the Great Crossing the Sillards* all the Tools and what Provisions &c you have not occasion for and take The Sergiants Receipt for the same. You take with you three Bullocks, and you'l send to thegreat Crossing for what flour you may want for your Detachment, and you will give each Man of your Detachment one Jill of Rum pr day and keep a Regylar Accompt of those that work & send it to Colo James Burd who will pay them. you are to pin down every Logg upon the Bridge but you need not Cover them with Fasheens** and Earth as formerly directed.

(* by sillards he meant steelyards, a type of balance for measuring weights used in olden days. **fascines are bundles of sticks. They used them for filling ditches or building parapets.)

Captain Pearis to Colonel Bouquet

Sir Fort Cumberland 12 December 1759
Agreeable to Your orders I have finished theBridge Clear'd & Cut the Road on both sides thirty feet wide. I did not cut the road the way you mark'd as I found Washington's road* much the best & measured both the old & New roads and find the New to be nigher than the old by fifteen chains** I have also renewed & made good every Bridge between the little Crossings and this Place, Cut round all Places where Waggons could not easily pass, have measured the road from the Bridge to this Place & markd it and find the distance to 23 1/8 Miles. I was oblidged to get more Liquor for the Men as Mr. Duffield deliver'd me but three Gallons. I have sent all theTools on the Great Crossings but 12 Axes one Spade one Shovel & one Grubbing hoe which I have delivered at Cumberland with the Horses & Guns &.

I have Inlisted Ten or Twelve Men & expect a great many more, should be glad you would be Pleased to order an officer to Receive them from me at Carlisle as my Bussiness requiers me to return from there if discharged at that Place. I am Sir Your most obedt Hum Servt
Richd Pearis Captn, 3d B.P. R, (3rd Branch PA Regt)

(*He preferred the road taken by Washington in 1754, ** 15 chains equaled 22 yards. Men who worked in the murk under bridges were given liquor, often rum, as a health precaution, in Colonial times.)

The only other mention of him in Bouquet Papers is in connection with the following statement, which seems to have been in connection with a court hearing.

I gather from the last paragraph above that he was not re-enlisting.

Pearis and Duffield: Statement against Livingston

COPY Fort Cumberland 19 December 1759

This is to Certifie That we the Subscribers were present and heard Major Livingston Tell Mr. Richard Graham that he the Said Graham was very much to blame for bringing back Macraes* Horses. And that Said Graham Answer'd that he tho't it was agreeable to all the Gentlemen here at the time as they were all present when the thing was propos'd, on which we the subscribers heard Maj. Livingston reply that it was not agreeable to him, and further added that he would not Suffer another Horse that was coming up the Road, to be impressed to Carry Salt, let the consequence be what it would. And he the Said Livingston further Said that Colo Bouquet would not Suffer to be taken the Horses that were coming up for that Service. with many other things to the same purpose, Still blameing Said Graham to the highest degree for offering to proceed in that Manner.

As witness our hands this 19th Day of Decemr 1759, Fort Cumberland & Sign'd

Richd Pearis Capt Ratchford Duffield
3d B. P. Regt Ens. 2d B. P. Regt

(Endorsed in Bouquet's handwriting, Certificate of Mr. Graham against Mr. Livingston Fort Major at Cumberland. *Clerk's misspelling of Edward McGeary, horse master. In days before refrigeration, salt was vitally necessary to preserve food.)

The rest of that year, the Bouquet Papers are full of the settling of accounts with Virginians and other duties necessary for winding up the affairs of the late campaign. Forts were built at Pittsburgh, others like Fort Burd on the Monongahela and so on, roads widened, bridges built, river travel improved, and Prime Minister Pitts' mandates were bearing fruition. Everything might not not be perfect yet, but the framework had been built.

Some books mention Richard's being an Indian agent at Fort Pitt. I have not seen evidence of that, and it was the southern Indians, not the Shawnees, etc., that he was involved with. Perhaps he was appointed an agent to them soon thereafter, as the Cherokees were the next year , defeated by an invasion from South Carolina, not Virginia. As stated before, he NEVER would have fought them. If important new details on that subject are found, they will be added later. Confusion with Robert? See Page 31, paragraph 2.

The war was not yet over in the northern sector in January 1760, but the final outcome had been more or less assured when General James Wolfe defeated Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham in Quebec on 13 September 1759, though both lost theirlives. Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point* fell to General Jeffrey Amherst the next summer, Fort Niagara to Sir William Johnson 24 July 1760, Montreal to Amherst 8 September 1760, when hostilities ceased. The Cherokees,who retaliated due to Governor Lyttleton's mismanagement, were invaded through South Carolina the same year, and soundly defeated--crushed is a better word. The Treaty of Paris was finally signed in 1763.

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*Our ancestor in quite another line altogether, Lt. Samuel Freeman of Sturbridge MA, fought at Crown Point.

CHAPTER TWELVE - A FREDERICK COUNTY GENTLEMAN

With his old critics gone from Winchester and the war winding down in that area, Richard was glad to be back home for a well deserved rest. The children were growing fast. By then there were probably at least four, two boys as well as Sarah and Margaret. George, the oldest son, was probably born soon after grand-father's death, and this boy was very definitely half Cherokee, all the records are clear on that, though the books differ about whether Rhoda and the others were. Frederick County deeds prove Rhoda was his wife by May 1762 when she signed deed releases with him, and presumably before that. We assume but are not sure she was our foremother. It could also be that George, Sarah, and Margaret were from a Cherokee mother who died, after which he married Rhoda. All kinds of alternatives are possible; we can only wonder. More about that later.

His activities in 1760 and in early 1761 have not come to light, but he was an active man with ambition and a fertile mind. One imagines he was soon exploring some of his old haunts along the Valley, especially if the rumor about his being an Indian agent were true, but one wonders how, if they were at war with the whites. It is also a mystery how our Sarah came to be courted by Sgt. George Teter, then a soldier under Captain Nathaniel Gist, Richard's old partner. Troops were busily occupied in Southwest Virginia. Though George also came from near Winchester, the circumstances of his family were more modest. How George and his brother Samuel had happened to be, as was Richard, Virginians fighting as Maryland troops* is also unexplained except that Fort Cumberland had originally been a Virginia fort on Maryland soil, Braddock's Road led there. If Sarah really was half Cherokee, that might explain her marrying into a more humble German family; but George was also a go-getter. He may simply have impressed her family as a desirable suitor. They were married about March 1762, when he was discharged from the service, and soon settled in Southwest Virginia. He became an ensign during the Revolution, but migrated to Kentucky in 1779/80 where he received military bounty land for his prior service. One suspects an additional motive for going there was to avoid having to fight the Tories in the Carolinas. Heaven knows there was enough to do fighting the Shawnees in Kentucky, as Richard's oldest grandchildren (her sons) wound up doing.

Frederick County deeds show that he and Lewis Pearce (or Pearis or Pares or Peirs) Junior and Senior bought some acreage situated on Opequon Creek as a mill site from the Strode (or Stroud) family for what seems like an amazingly low price, of which he later became sole owner. Perhaps there is a simple explanation for this seeming bargain, but it makes one wonder whether either he or Rhoda were related to the Strodes or the Pearces. Superficial probing does not reveal any such connection. A couple of books say Pearis was a corruption of the surname Pearce, but I remain unconvinced--the usual mis-spelling was Paris, adopted by some descendants, not his so far as I know. The old deed book entries sound quaint, but different laws applied than now, and this was a hangover from the old English law, involving quitrents, etc.

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*See page 115

Frederick County Deed Books, Volume 6*

page 439 29 Nov 1761. (Lease) Between Edward Stroud of Co of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co...consideration of five shillings, parcel of Land Containing one Acre lying & being on Opechon Creek..part of greater tract of 360 acres..rent of one pepper corn on Lady Day next.*(signed) Edward Strode, Elioner (E) Strode Wit: Basil Magruder, John White, Mary (+) White. Recorded 2 Dec 1761

pg 440, 1 Dec 1761 (Release) between Edward Stroud & Elener his wife of County of Frederick to Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis of said Co., for and in consideration of Forty Shillings..One Acre (same as above). Wit: same as above /s/ Edward Strode, Eleaner (E) Strode. 2 Dec 1761

pg 518, 14 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Sen. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County...consideration of Five Shillings..150 Acres..(same as above) Wit: same as above.
/s/ Lewis (L) Pearce Sen Rec. 2 March 1762 (Lease part not shown)

pg 520, 27 Jan 1762 (Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun. of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said County..Consideration of Five Shillings...One Acre of Land belonging & being part of a Certain Tract Cibtaining 360 Acres lying & being on Opechon Creek (in possession of Edward Strode) Rent of one Ear of Indian Corn on the last day of said Term../s/Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares. Wit: Jas. Blair, Holloway Poor, John Hardin

pg 522, 27 Jan 1762 Release) Between Lewis Pearce Jun of Co. of Frederick to Richard Pearis of said county, consideration of Five Shillings, acre of land as above. /s/ Lewis Peairs, Mary (X) Peares
Wit: same as above, Rec. 2 Mar 1762.

NOTE: In those days throughout Virginia, men were better educated than women, who mostly learned the domestic arts, though there were exceptions. You will notice Eleanor Strode signed (E), Mary White signed (+) and Mary "Peares" signed (X). Lewis Pearce, Senior, signed (L)and his son signed Lewis Peairs. As you may have noticed before, Richard always abbreviated his name "Richd Pearis." Rhoda must have been pretty well educated, for she always signed her name, "Rhoda Pearis." Would a Cherokee have done this? Most, even chiefs, were illiterate and pretended not to understand English though they really did, as a ruse. (Chiefs, that is.) That makes it appear that Rhoda was from a very literate white family, but it is possible that a much-loved Cherokee lady could be taught.

Most of the deeds will not be repeated in the text. The above is just something to mull over on the outside chance that it might be significant. The acre on Opequon Creek was utilized as a Saw Mill, probably a very good investment.

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*In colonial Virginia, Lady Day, celebrated each March 25th, was the traditional day for settling accounts and paying yearly rents. This had been a custom in Southwest England since Medieval times. See Albion's Seed, Four British Folkways in America by David Hackett Fischer (1989-Oxford Univ Press) page 370.

Here, through deed records, we see Richard present in Frederick County in 29 Nov -1 Dec 1761 and again 14-27 Jan 1762, busily negotiating for the sawmill site on Opequon Creek and the adjacent 150 acres of land. Yet despite all this activity at home, it really does appear that he found time to squeeze in visits to his old haunts in the lower valley in Old Augusta County during the fall of 1761 and/or spring 1762--especially important if he was, as some reports say, an Indian agent of some sort--and that he took the family along sometimes. They owned excellent saddle horses, though even humble people on foot were amazingly mobile in those days. Brother George was then living on Glade Creek in what was eventually to become Roanoke, Virginia, owing money to Boyd's store but not yet inextricably in debt, and there were many others with whom they could socialized with along the way.

→ have

We do not know when his eldest daughter, our ancestress Sarah (probably called "Sally") met and fell in love with Sergeant George Teter, but she certainly would have been eager to visit him. The young man was then serving in Colonel William Byrd III's First Virginia Regiment (Washington's old command) under Captain Nathaniel Gist who was, perhaps not coincidentally, Richard's old Indian-trading partner at Long Island. One of his company's last duties was the construction of Fort Robinson (later renamed Fort Patrick Henry) adjacent to the Island, site of the trading-house operated by Pearis and Gist. Apparently Sgt. Teter was one of the soldiers who spent part of the winter of 1761/2 at the newly-erected fort.

In spite of the war against them, now just ended but still in the negotiating stage, the two traders, Gist and Pearis, remained popular with the Cherokees--so much so that they offered to sell Long Island to Nathaniel that winter. Nathaniel, like Richard before him, was unable to get the sale confirmed by the powers-that-be in Williamsburg. (See pictures of the site on page 42.)

Officers were let go earlier with a nice bonus, but the enlisted men were all discharged at Fort Lewis in the Valley on the first of March 1762. (See location on map on page 13, next to Boyd's store, mentioned in the deeds below.) George and Sarah were married right away after that.

While they were in the Valley, Richard purchased some land on New River. The first settlers of that land had been Dunker brethren, who acquired it from Col. James Patton, one of the first people killed in the Drapers Meadows area. These Dunkers had been known in Germany by George's father, who came to America in 1729. George Teter was an anglicized version of his father's name, Georg Dieter.

Augusta County Deed Book 11 (abst. by Lyman Chalkey)

pg 8. 18 May 1762. Johannes ( ) Miller, of Anson County, North Carolina, to John Smith of Augusta and Richard Pearis of Frederick County, £52.15, 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn 30th June 1754, on Woods River (Note: Original name of New River)

opposite an Island; corner Imanuel Eberling. (Note: Emanuel Eckerling or Eckerlin was a Dunker physician who migrated further north when the Shawnees started their hostilities, winding up in (see p 129 Duncard Creek in Pennsylvania of all places. Somewhere along the line he visited Williamsburg, and is mentioned in Washington Papers. More about him is told in the Teter Family story. The Dunkers, or Dunkards, were a German pacifist sect, vegetarians who never shaved, even if their beards should grow so long they touched the ground, and observed the 7th day Sabbath. Our George's father came to America with a group of them. Though deed books show a 1753 patent date, they had come there much earlier, and were well established on New River before 1750 when the explorer--later Richard's business associate and before that official provisioner for Virginia during the late hostilities--the omnipresent Dr. Thomas Walker, visited them there on 1750 on his way to acquire land in Kentucky for the Loyal Land Company. The Dunkers, already on the site, secured title to the land by the accommodating services of Col. James Patton, later one of the first victims and special target of Shawnees led by French-Canadian Francois-Marie Picot de Belestre. (see page 14). They captured Captain John Smith who was later ransomed. I do not know whether he was the man mentioned in next paragraph. The reason the patent was issued so late as 1753 is that papers could not be made out until surveys were completed, which often took many years to accomplish.)

pg 18. (month not shown) 1762. £ amount not shown. John Smith to Alex Sayers, one half of a tract held jointly by John (Smith) and Richard Pearis, containing 380 acres, part of 900 patented to Garrett Zinn, 20th June 1753 (Either this is wrong or 1754 shown in the previous entry is) and conveyed to us by John Miller 18th May 1762, described as in above conveyance. Sent to Col. Preston by his order Oct 1773. (I don't know what this has to do with it, but Col. Preston was Col. Patton's nephew. Preston was one of the officers in the Big Sandy Expedition.)

pg. 87. 16 November 1762. Richard Pearis and Rhoda, of Frederick County, to Alexander Boyd of the Virginia Regiment, £ amount not shown, one half of a tract containing (blank) acres in upper part of Dunger (sic) Bottom, conveyed by John Miller to said Richard Pearis and a certain John Smith, August 1762. Delivered: Alex Love, November 1763.

Richard's motives in acquiring the land at Dunker Bottom are unclear. It would have been an ideal site for development, had he decided to do that, and Sarah and George later bought some land not far away, but he sold the land to Alexander Boyd "of the VA Regiment." This is the same family who owned the trading post (or store) at Fort Lewis, to whom his brother George became so deeply indebted. George's brother-in-law Samuel Pepper, living nearby, also was indebted, but he was a prosperous man owning much land and later established the famous ferry at present Radford VA. He remained on cordial terms with George's sons later in life.

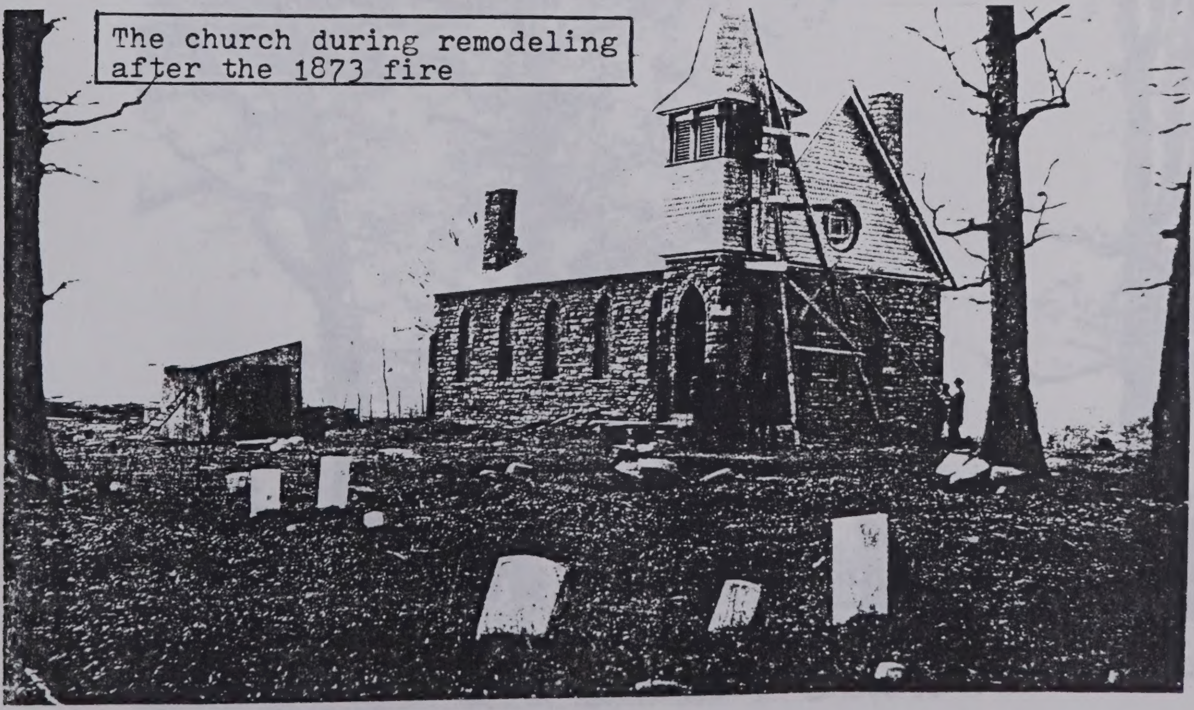
Evidence that our Pearis family attended church regularly is shown in the following record. Rules were then such that usually only members were permitted to participate in communion services, which were held only a few times a year. To become a member, one had to convince church elders that they were pious and well informed in doctrine.

Old Frederick County Parish Record (From Kerns, cited pg 28)

Two pages from a Frederick County Parish record show signatures of parishioners who participated in the communion (Eucharist) during 1761-1763. The register was found in an original book among miscellaneous Frederick County records in the Virginia State Library, Archives Division. At the top of the register is the statement, "I do declare that I do believe there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person Whatsoever." This was one way of saying that the communion table was for Protestants only.

Some persons who signed the register were: Nicholas M._____(German). John Hite, Jacob Morgan, Thomas Caton, ____Mandley, James Clark, James Ireson, John Neaville, John McKensie, John Christopher Heintz?, James Keith, Thomas Speake, Lewis Moore, Cornelius Vansdell, Peter Hog (on June 1, 1762), Joseph Longacre (German sig.), Joseph Glass, John Lindsey, Thomas Bryan Martin, John Sheen, Richard Pearis, John Watson, John Taylor, Edward Robinson, David Shepherd, Jeremiah Odell, John Shealy (his X Mark--the only person who could not sign his own name), Charles Smith, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Rutherford, Thomas Whitson, William Overall, Thomas Wadlington, Archibald Wagner, Humphrey Wells, Isaac Russell, Thomas Lowe, John Kennedy, Joseph A (illegible), Elijah Isaacs, John Linsey, Daniel Bush, John Edwards, Edward Rogers Jr., Morgan Morgan, Walter Moffett, John Waton(German), Van Swearington, John Wager, Wastley Whit, John Dark, Alex Lemen, John Jenkins, Martin____(German), Richard Jackman, Adam Stephen, Burr Harrison, Angus McDonald, Thomas Helm, and Henry Netherton

With several exceptions, this list represents persons in the power structure of Frederick County in 1761-3. It is obvious that no women signed the register.



The church during remodeling after the 1873 fire

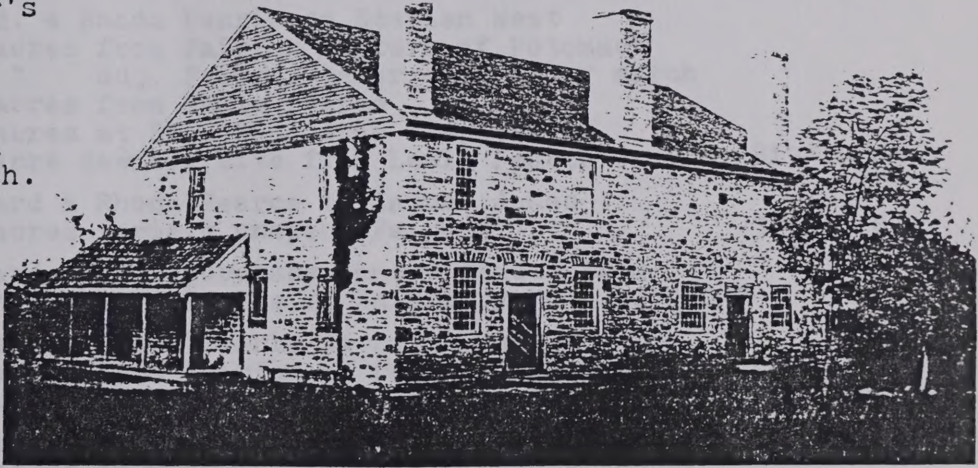
Also see page 8.

PEARIS FAMILY

Our family had been gone for a century when these photos were taken during the late 19th century, but they were familiar with all these places.

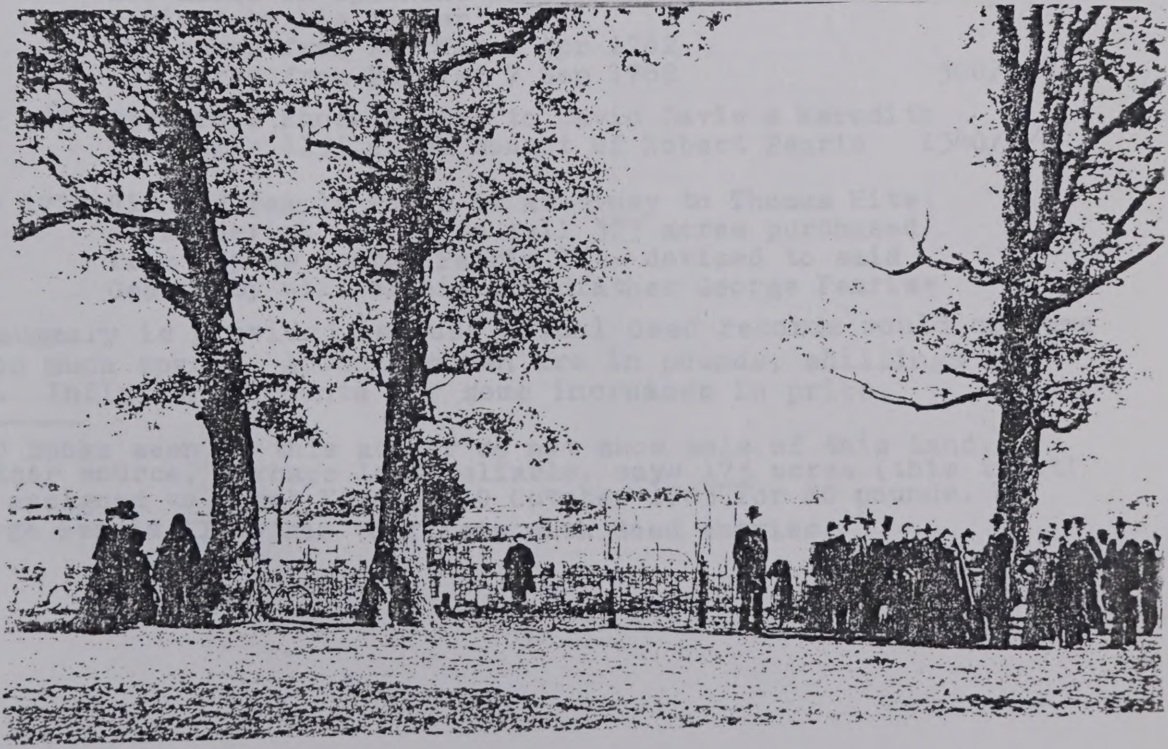
Right-very old market at Winchester

Center-Old meeting-house of the Hopewell Quakers, located a couple of miles north of George Pearis, Sr's homestead.



Below-group of mourners at Opeckon graveyard next to the church.

Taken from: Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants by T. K. Cartmell



Frederick County Deed Book Data - RICHARD PEARIS

		Purchase Price	Sales Price
11 Feb 1747/8	Richard Pearis was one of 4 witnesses for the Grubb Family sale/transfer of land		
12 Nov 1761	Richard Pearis & Lewis Pearis/Pearce Sr. purch. 1 acre on Opechon Creek of Strodes	0/40/0	
14 Jan 1762	Richard Pearis 150 acres from Lewis Pearce Sr. adjoining the above(former Strode)	0/5/0	
27 Jan 1762	Richard P. 1/2 acre(other half of acre above from LewisPearce Jr.(for sawmill)	0/5/0	
8 May 1762	Richd, & Rhoda Pearis, 210 acres to Strother Jones (acquired from Fairfax 7 Sep 1761)		20/0/0
8 Sep 1762	Richard Pearis 180 acres from Stephensons at Swan Pond, drains of Opechon (He had this confirmed by Fairfax.)	47/0/0	
2 May 1763	Richd. & Rhoda Pearis to Stephen West 400 acres from Fairfax "waters of Potomac" 810 " adj. Fairfax Manor & Vanmeter march 150 acres from Lewis Pearce 180 acres at Swan Pond from Stephensons 1 acre sawmill site from Lewis Pearce Jr.		819/17/05
28 Dec 1763	Richard & Rhoda Pearce to Samuel Jones 573 acres (origin unspec.-Fairfax?)		375/10/0
3 Feb 1763	Richard Pearis purchase sundry tracts from brother Robert Pearis of Salisbury NC	1000/0/0	
25 Oct 1766	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Hunter 536 acres from Fairfax on road to Watkins Ferry, Tuscaroah Branch near Poison Field		740/0/0
25 Feb 1768	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to Cornelious Thompson 260 acres on Opechon, line of Morgan Bryan, devised by his father's will 290 acres from Fairfax 2 Apr 1762 57 acres from Fairfax 7 Sep 1762		500/0/0
16 Mar 1770	Richard & Rhoda Pearis to David Davis & Meredith Darling - 1195 acres bought of Robert Pearis		1340/0/0
23 Mar 1770	Richard Pearis Power of Attorney to Thomas Hite of Frederick County to sell 373 acres purchased from nephew George Pearis III, devised to said George by will of his Grandfather George Pearis*		

This summary is provided because actual deed records would consume way too much space. Amounts shown are in pounds, shillings and pence. Inflation accounts for some increases in price.

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* Deed Books seen by this author do not show sale of this land. Another source, perhaps less reliable, says 175 acres (this tract) was assigned to Jacob Hite on 10 October 1765 for 80 pounds. by George Pearis III--this conflicts with deed entries.

The foregoing Frederick County deed book data demonstrates that throughout most of the 1760's Richard was busy acquiring and improving land, mostly from Lord Fairfax, and selling some at a profit while he operated large plantations and the sawmill with hired and slave labor. He was meanwhile expanding his horizons, partly due to contact with Jacob Hite, his old mentor during his late-teen trading days, his wartime associate Major Andrew Lewis, and Loyal Land Company executive and part-owner, Dr, Thomas Walker of Albemarle County. I regret not having details about how he became involved with Lewis and Walker and assume Hite may have had something to do with it, but that it did happen is amply proven in old Colonial South Carolina court and Indian records, many of which are adverse. Richard Pearis did have a talent for stepping on exactly the wrong toes!

This is all very complicated, again involving history, so before getting into it loose ends of what we have discovered of his Virginia involvements need tying up; as evidenced in the following, he must have had many dealings we don't know about in southern Virginia. Pittsylvania Co. 1767 tithes show his overseer William Lowry and five slaves. (Had Lowry anything to do with sister Margaret? Perhaps in our eagerness to know what became of Sarah's sister we are inclined to jump at straws.) Land acreage was usually listed because it was taxable. Perhaps he had none, but certain military and government officials were exempt from these. Was he, or had he no land there? We don't know.

(MPL-R929.3 V816)

TITHABLES OF PITTSYLVANIA COUNTY, 1767.

(Contributed by Mrs. N. E. Clement, Chatham, Va.)

———	Tithes	Land
Swinfield Hill		150
Austin Shot	1	
Thomas Shoat	1	
John Vanbibber	1	400
Henson McDonal	1	
Francis McGuier	1	
John McGuier	1	
Thomas Carter	1	
John McGuier Jr	1	
Merry McGuier	1	
Paul Henson	1	
John Henson	1	
William Henson	1	
James Standeford	1	
William Murphy	1	113
Miller Dogget	1	
Richard Hough	1	
Joshua Barton	1	107
David Barton	1	
Isaac Barton	1	
William Ferguson	1	
Thomas Miller & William Sumers	2	
Francis Bird	1	240
Andrew Ferguson	1	
Joseph Rentfro		280
Robert Jones, Thomas Jones & Henry Jones	3	520
John Jones	1	400

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Virginia Tax Records -(Geneal.Publ. Co.)

Robert Jones Jr	1	220
Philip Smith	1	150
William Cook	1	610
John Fushon	1	225
James Rentfro jr	1	
James Rentfro Sen, Joseph Rentfro & Peter Rentfro	3	600
Veath Dilingham & negro Jeany	2	100
Peter Vanbibber, jr	1	200
Isaac Vanbibber	1	
Mack Foster Sen	1	
Richard Pearis's tithes are, William Lowry, negroes: Jack, Harry, Jeany, Hannah & Silviah	6	✓
Anthony Litle	1	170
Christopher Lackenair	1	
John Meadly	1	200
John Dilingham	1	
James Lamb	1	
William Webb	1	
John Ramsey	1	230
Joshua Weaver & Isaac Weaver	2	
Holden McGee	1	
Edward Richards	1	140
William Dilingham & Joshua Dilingham	2	93
Amos Richardson & negro Moll	2	150
Benj. Jenkins	1	300
Robert Tormet	1	
John Hall	1	200
Francis Farley	1	
Wm. Heard, George Heard & Wm. Beans	3	400
Thomas Bird	1	
Richard Shoat	1	
Jeremiah Muray	1	526
John Stevenson	1	
John Callaway, negroes Flemen, Asher, Nan & Nell	5	500
Abraham Motley & negro Peter	2	

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I recognize the names of most of these Pittsylvania County people as having lived in what is now Franklin County in the area between Blackwater River and Snow Creek, having learned of them through search in another ancestral line, that of Michael Dunn, not related to the Pearises, who lived on Snow Creek when the Revolution broke out. This was very broken country--with many rolling hills which must have soon become depleted, probably by attempts at raising tobacco, in short order. Michael stayed only a few years, as did others. Most of the Rentfros became very early Tennessee pioneers. Some went to the Red River, a tributary of the Cumberland River, with Colonel John Donelson, prominent Pittsylvania citizen who ran the survey line for the Treaty of Lochaber shown on an upcoming map, which much distressed Hite, Lewis, Pearis, and Walker. Other Rentfros settled in Daniel Boone's old Nolichucky hunting grounds in Green Co. TN. Some of the others on the list, like Callaways, were prominent in the initial migration to Kentucky. It was a highly mobile society.

Our Sarah (Pearis) and George Teter were among those who were rather early to Kentucky. They seem not to have lived in Frederick County long if at all, but in the Valley. Their oldest son, Samuel Teter, in Revolutionary War pension papers filled when he was an old man, said he was born in Botetourt Co. VA on 27 February 1763 (probably about 11 months after the wedding). There was no Botetourt County till 1769, when the county seat was and is Fincastle, but then covered such a large territory that they could have been south of that near Uncle George and the cousins. The first land they purchased of which records have been found, was at the mouth of Crab Creek on New River, which would have been in Montgomery County, not Botetourt.

Augusta County Deed Book 15

pg 81. February 1768. Frederick Starn to George Teetar, £(Chalkey does not specify amount but it was ten pounds) 85 acres by patent 22 August 1753, on Crab Creek, a branch of New River. Teste: W. Ingles, William Davis, John Taylor, John and William Buchanan. Sent to George Teeter by his order April 1769.

Frederick Stern, the original patentee, a sheriff, was moving further west to North Fork of the Holston River area, where our Teters also went a few years later. Most of those witnesses were Pearis Family associates of long standing. Uncle George had witnessed a Glade Creek deed for James Davis, relative of William; William Ingles, whose family was victimized during the Drapers Meadows massacre, had participated in the Big Sandy Expedition as a guide. The Buchanans, who later moved on, were of the same clan which produced a later US president. Ingles, by the way, later sold the tract of land on New River higher up, to cousin Captain George Pearis III where he established his own ferry and the present town of Pearisburg, VA.

Perhaps it is a bit premature, but upon consideration it seems that the Virginia Hite Family material should be included here. Some of the following is at variance with recorded history, and Richard Pearis is refered to as a rival named Parrish. The writer must have been both negrophobic and Indianophobic (I don't know the scientific word) so please take those details into consideration.

Regarding Jacob Hite, son of original Frederick County Proprietor, Joist Hite.

Jacob Hite, second son of Joist Hite, chose for his homestead a large tract of land in the northern part of Frederick County, where he erected substantial buildings for his own family—and also numerous buildings for several other families who joined him—and also "quarters" for his slaves. It was not long before his settlement acquired the name of Hite's town; but later on, when Berkeley County was formed, and the County seat to be chosen, Hite felt secure in his claim that his village was the most central and offered to dedicate land for a Court House and Public buildings. Martinsburg was then a village and entered the contest. The rivals for the prize were led by two men of pronounced ability, Gen. Adam Stephen for Martinsburg, and Jacob Hite, for his village (Now Leetown). Stephen and his followers secured the selection of Martinsburg. Hite always claimed that fraud had been practiced, and proved his case, but too late to serve his purpose. He then sought relief before the House of Burgesses, and endeavored to have another County carved out of the Eastern part of Berkeley and a slice from Frederick, but when he found this formation would leave his village in Berkeley County, the project was abandoned. Jacob was very prominent in the early settlement. He is found with his father, the elder Hite, before the Governor and Council, seeking cause of delay in confirming the *Minor Grants* to the families who were erecting their homesteads on the original grant. Then he is found before the Courts of Orange, assisting his father to secure the services of the County Surveyor to "lay out roads," in the Southern part of what was afterwards Frederick County. The family records and tradition show that he visited Ireland in the interest of the infant Colony, that his father was planting in the Sherando Valley, and was successful, returning with quite a number of Scotch-Irish families who soon became helpful in the development of the country. On this return voyage he made the acquaintance of Catherine O'Bannon whom he married. She only lived a few years, leaving three sons who became distinguished men in their day, Capt. John, and Col. Thomas Hite, and Jacob O'Bannon Hite. Jacob's second wife was Mrs. Frances Madison Beale. Her father was Ambrose Madison, descendant of the emigrant who settled in Gloucester County, 1653. It was through this line that we find James Madison Sr., son of Ambrose Madison and Frances Taylor, who married Nellie Conway 1749. Their son James became President of the United States. By the O'Bannon marriage Jacob had two daughters, viz. Mary Hite married Rev. Nathaniel Manner and had for a second husband Rev. Busby, and Elizabeth, her sister, married Col. Lawrence Beale. The children by Jacob's second marriage were a son and daughter, George and Eleanor.

The marriages of Jacob's children is given briefly: John married Sarah ——————— and had three daughters, Mary married Edward Grant, Catherine married Thodoric Lee, Sarah married Alex. P. Buchanan, Second, Thomas Hite, born 1750, married Frances Beale in 1772. Jacob O'Bannon Hite, mentioned as the third son of Jacob, was killed by Indians in South Carolina. The mention of this incident very properly introduces the very dramatic incidents in the life and death of Jacob, the father of the last named son. After his unsuccessful effort to secure the location of the County seat of Berkeley County on his land, he became dissatisfied with his surroundings and sold the larger portion of his land in Berkeley County, and prepared to move his family to South Carolina. Before leaving, however, he made ample provision for such of his family as desired to remain in Virginia. His son Thomas and his Daughter, Mrs. Willis, and his son George, as the family tradition gives it, endeavored to dissuade their father from this removal, he would not yield. Thomas and Mrs. Willis were given large tracts of well improved land not far away from their old homestead, and George was placed at William and Mary College; *and then in 1786 he started on his southern journey with his wife and younger children and his slaves, and a few neighboring families migrated with him. Kercheval says, "He had not been long settled in his new home in S. C. before the Indians murdered him and several of his family in the most shocking manner"—then adds—"before the bloody massacre took place, an Indian squaw who was much attached to Mrs. Hite, called on her and warned her of the intended

Should be 1768

massacre, and urged her to remove with her little children to a place of safety. Mrs. Hite immediately communicated this intelligence to her husband who disbelieved the information, observing "the indians were too much attached to him to do him any injury." The next morning, however, when too late to escape, a party of Indians armed and painted in their usual war dress, called on Hite and told him they had determined to kill him. It was in vain that he pleaded his friendship for them, and the many services he had rendered their nation. Their fell purpose was fixed, and nothing could appease them but his blood and that of his innocent and unoffending wife and children, they barbarously murdered Hite, his wife, and several of their children. After this terrible massacre they took two of his daughters, not quite grown, and all his slaves as prisoners. and carried off much plunder and

The writer has additional traditionary history relating to the capture of the Hite daughters and slaves, which may be regarded as authentic, considering the source; and as it presents a pathetic coloring to the sad picture drawn by the old historian Kercheval, the writer will give it here as well as he can recall from memory the incident as related to him in the long ago. After the capture of the two young girls, the chief of the Creek tribe chose Eleanor for his squaw wife, and guarded her with great care and concern while the marauders were retreating from the scene of the massacre. At that time the Indians were allies with the British, and the retreat was towards the nearest British Army post. It was during this retreat that Eleanor and a negro girl made their escape. Eleanor was recaptured, but the negro girl, who succeeded in securing a fleet pony, was not overtaken. After the Indians reached the British Army, one of the officers saw the young captive Eleanor, and succeeded in buying her from the chief. He took her to the Florida sea-coast, and there wooed and won the affections of the young Eleanor; but owing to her broken health, as a result of her hardships of her capture and imprisonment with the band of savages, she died at Pensacola upon her arrival there. George Hite, the son, who had been placed at William & Mary College by his father, hearing of the awful calamity that had overtaken the family, immediately started upon a search for his sisters. He found some of the old slaves who enabled him to trace his sister Eleanor to Pensacola. He learned enough to satisfy him that his sister had experienced severe hardship, but no maltreatment, and that she had been cared for by a British officer named Johnson; and in after years he learned of the attachment between him and his sister. George Hite found the negro girl who had escaped and brought her back to Virginia." When we recall that Jacob Hite with his father spent the greater part of their lives with several Indian tribes, and were on friendly terms and understood Indian habits, customs and Indian treachery, it is strange that he allowed his delusion to overcome his caution and thus be sacrificed. Kercheval in his narrative concerning this massacre states that he obtained his information from Jacob's son, Col. James Hite, and then adds, "Mr. Hite kept a large retail store, and dealt largely with the Creek and Cherokee tribes. It is said a man by the name of Parrish who went to Carolina with Hite and to whom Hite had been very friendly, growing jealous of Hite's popularity with the Indians, instigated the savages to commit the murder, and then adds that about the year 1784 or 1785, he saw the late Capt. George Hite (Who had been an officer in the Revolutionary Army), who had just returned from an unsuccessful search after his two young sisters, who were taken captives at the time of the murder of his father. He had traversed a great part of the southern country among the various tribes of Indians, but could never hear anything of them. Capt. Hite, a short time after the war of the Revolution, recovered part of his father's slaves who had been taken off by the Indians. and states that one of these slaves was owned by Maj. Issac Hite of Frederick County. This woman brought home an Indian son. Kercheval adds that he frequently saw this son, who had all the features of an Indian; and that part of Hite's slaves remained with the Indians and were kept in rigorous slavery;

The above is part of a much longer Hite Family sketch given by T. K. Cartmell in Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and their Descendants, from which the nice photos were also taken. Information about other Hites was deleted, not being part of this story.

Historians are in disagreement about just which members of the Hite family besides Jacob, himself, and his second wife Francis, were killed by enraged Indians. Perhaps some grandchildren were among them, and it seems as though there may have been unrecorded children younger than George (at college) and Eleanor, who was captured by Creeks. Some say it was Jacob O'Bannon Hite who was killed in the Indian Country and others that it could not have been he. Which Pearis daughter was engaged to "young Hite" and whether it was he, whether the daughter was part Cherokee, and many other details are in question. Further enmity was caused due to the fact that Richard Pearis took the part of King George III and Hite favored the Patriots. The following abstract of will may help or it may confuse the issue still further.

It appears that Jacob O'Bannon Hite had many young namesakes, for he had his mother's maiden name as part of his own, plus his father's first name. John Hite and Thomas Hite, Jacob's two eldest sons, according to this, both died during the Revolution, leaving young children. Their wills are extracted below. Berkeley County?

Tyler's Quarterly Magazine Vol 3:49 (July 1921) (MPL 929.1T98V3)

OTHER WILLS—AND RECORDS—ABSTRACTS.*

John Hite, dated 25 Oct. 1776, proved 18 Mch., 1777. To wife Sarah half of the plantation on which he now lives, the other half to son Jacob O'Bannon, who shall also have all lands in West Augusta. "Inasmuch as my father has been killed by the hand of Violence, & it is probable he left no will behind him, whereby the inheritance of his lands will descend to me, but as brotherly affection will not permit me &c, if my brothers and sisters will be at equal expence in securing the right & title to that tract of land in So. Carolina, lying in the Indian Country within the State of South Carolina, Part whereof being an undivided tract held by my father under a deed granted by the Cherokee Nation to Richard Pearis, the said Pearis' son, and my father, and part whereof being a purchase from John Neville &c;" children Jacob O'Bannon, Mary Catherine and the infant unbaptized; sisters Mary and Elizabeth. Executors: Rev. Daniel Sturgis, Tavana Beale, Thomas Rutherford, William Gibbs, and James Keith.

.. *Thomas Hite*, dated 22 Sept., 1776, proved 17 Augt., 1779, names wife Frances, and mentions children without naming them. Executors: Wife, James Ruth, James Nourse and Dolphin Drew. The appraisement shows the following books: Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences £32; Bailey's Dictionary £8; Ainsworth's Dictionary £15; Cole's Dictionary £6; Josephus, 4 vols. £12; Elements of Navigation, 2 vols., £6; Davidson's Virgil, 2 vols., £5; Smart's Horace 2

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*Where it is not otherwise stated, a will is intended.

As shown in the preceding Hite family sketch, Jacob Hite was angry at "the man by the name of Parrish who went to Carolina with Hite;" but the reason cited was not the correct one. Both men were involved, as most of the so-called Great Men of Virginia were, in land speculation. This will all be explained in more detail later in the story, but in short, both men tried to obtain land in Indian territory in upper South Carolina. Hite's scheme failed and Pearis's almost did. The Cherokees, with whom Richard had always been a great favorite, sold him a huge tract, of which he was able to hang onto a large part (though with great difficulty) through the good offices of his eldest Cherokee son George.

Richard, taking pity on Jacob, offered to sell him part of the land at a cheap price. After all, he had paid the Cherokees; but Hite, being a stubborn man, refused to pay though he stayed on the land. Perhaps he thought Richard owed him a debt of gratitude for helping him get started in the Indian trade as a teenager. As in an earlier Berkeley County Virginia quarrel with Colonel Adam Stephen, Hite held his ground in anger. This may be one clue as to why he opted for the side of the Rebels in the Revolution when Pearis sided with the Loyalists. On the other hand, he very naturally would have stayed on the same side as his children still in Virginia.

A source to be disclosed later, which presumes Mrs. Pearis was a Cherokee and that all of the children were half Cherokee, says a Pearis son and daughter were engaged to be married to a Hite son and daughter; and that the Pearis daughter, at great personal danger to herself, raced to warn the Hite family of the intended massacre as soon as she learned of it, before it was too late. You will notice that at the bottom of column 2 of the 4-column sketch preceding, it says, "an Indian squaw who was much attached to Mrs. Hite called on her and warned her to remove to a place of safety." Again, Jacob was a "stubborn German" who refused to listen, and the whole family was killed except for the kidnapped Eleanor.

After the Revolutionary War, the new government took pity on the Hite heirs and they were given land in new Greenville County South Carolina at a very reduced rate in compensation for their loss.

The Hites will be mentioned but not featured later in the story. Next chapter will try to explain how widespread the land speculation schemes were, and how both families became involved.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN - LAND HUNGER

Details of just how and when Jacob Hite and/or Richard Pearis became involved with Doctor Thomas Walker and Major Andrew Lewis in their quest for land is lost to history. Like today's insider trading, some things never became public. In that era the path to riches was filled with intrigue, though land speculation was nothing new. Virginia Colony had long made huge grants of frontier land as a way to counteract French expansion, though the class-conscious burgesses were careful to deny any petition for such to any man of the "inconsequential sort." That is how Frederick County was settled--by a grant to Jacob's father. Such grants were made all up the Valley, some of the acreage going to Dr. Walker's own Loyal Land Company

But no sooner was the ink dry on the treaty of peace signed in Paris in 1763 than the British Government dumbfounded the colonies with a Proclamation declaring a moratorium on all settlement beyond the Alleghany Mountains. The purpose was laudable, to prevent Indians from attacking whites over land encroachment. Most members of the Board of Trade and Parliament knew almost nothing about American geography and cared less. Even the more informed failed to realize the extent of settlement already in the forbidden area. Settlers there were ordered to evacuate. There was still much vacant land in New York, which they insisted should be filled up first. That was true, but it was because it was all tied up in huge Manors and the lords of the manors would not sell but insisted on renting and treating the renters as serfs in the Medieval style, already obsolete in the mother country. Most Americans were too independent-minded for anything like that.

Most Americans were outraged. They had also felt the sting of being considered lowly provincials by the British Army, and felt they had won the country by fighting for it. George Washington, one of the more active land speculators, opined that he could never see that proclamation as "anything but a temporary expedient." Soon other issues, like the 1765 Stamp Tax to force the colonies to pay part of the cost of the late war, became so irksome that a spirit of civil disobedience was fostered. Certain it is that many of the Scotch-Irish beyond the Line, some of them squatters, never did move. Much effort had already gone into the development of the Fort Pitt area, for instance. People like Christopher Gist had long lived in far Western Maryland and would not budge. Many Virginians now lived around Redstone Old Fort (Burd) and so on. Thomas Walker owned 4500 acres at Burke's Gardens, another large tract at Wolf Hills (now Abingdon VA) and many others beyond the Line. Andrew Lewis also had holdings at Burke's Gardens and elsewhere.

Other more skilful manipulators than these men were after much more extensive claims, some overlapping theirs, like Samuel Wharton of Philadelphia, on intimate terms with men like Sir William Johnson, Benjamin Franklin, and Governor William Franklin of New Jersey, to whom he gave enough slices of the pie to keep them interested. Wharton's Company was Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan. Captain William Trent, one of the associates, used his influence on Sir William Johnson, powerful Supt. of Indians in the North, to organize a conference which resulted in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, signed 5 November 1768.

Fort Stanwix & Hard Labor

Negotiations of the Treaty, as described in The Mississippi Valley in British Politics,(1959) by Clarence Walworth Alvord, Vol II pp 68-71

There was an immense crowd gathered for the Treaty, with an estimated 3400 Indians. Both colonial representatives and Indians realized that one of the most important treaties ever made in the forests of America was about to be consumated, and they both had hopes that it would result in a long peace between the two peoples. Sir William Johnson opened the meeting with the solemn and figurative language usually employed in addressing the natives. He recalled that in 1765 he had laid before them the plan of a boundary line to which they had agreed and told them that now the time had come to run the same. Great emphasis was laid on the fact that the king was prepared, in return for a grant of land, to give the large and handsome present which was conspicuously arranged before the eyes of the assembly.

Without doubt this array of gifts had its effect on the savage mind; there was at first great opposition to granting all that Sir William demanded, particularly in the colony of New York; but by dwelling on the subject of the presents and by means of private gifts, this objection was partially over come. The boundary line, however, was not extended to the lake at the north.

When the question of the southern end of the boundary line came to an issue, Sir William found difficulties of another kind. The Indians made certain conditions before they would make any cessions. The first conditions were undoubtedly the fruit of the conferences with the Whartons held before the assembly met at Fort Stanwix. Secret meetings with the same persons during the period of the congress further strengthened the Indians in their purpose, and there is even considerable evidence that Sir William lent his influence to gain the same end. At any rate he was not surprised when the Indians demanded that they be permitted to give a tract of land to the traders who had suffered at the hands of the Shawnee and Delawares in 1763. This tract was a very large one, situated in what is now the state of West Virginia; it was later christened "Indiana." The Indians further demanded that George Croghan, who had previously bought from them many acres of land, which now proved to lie within the boundaries of Pennsylvania, should receive another cession in compensation. Both of these grants were dated two days before the other stipulations of the treaty.

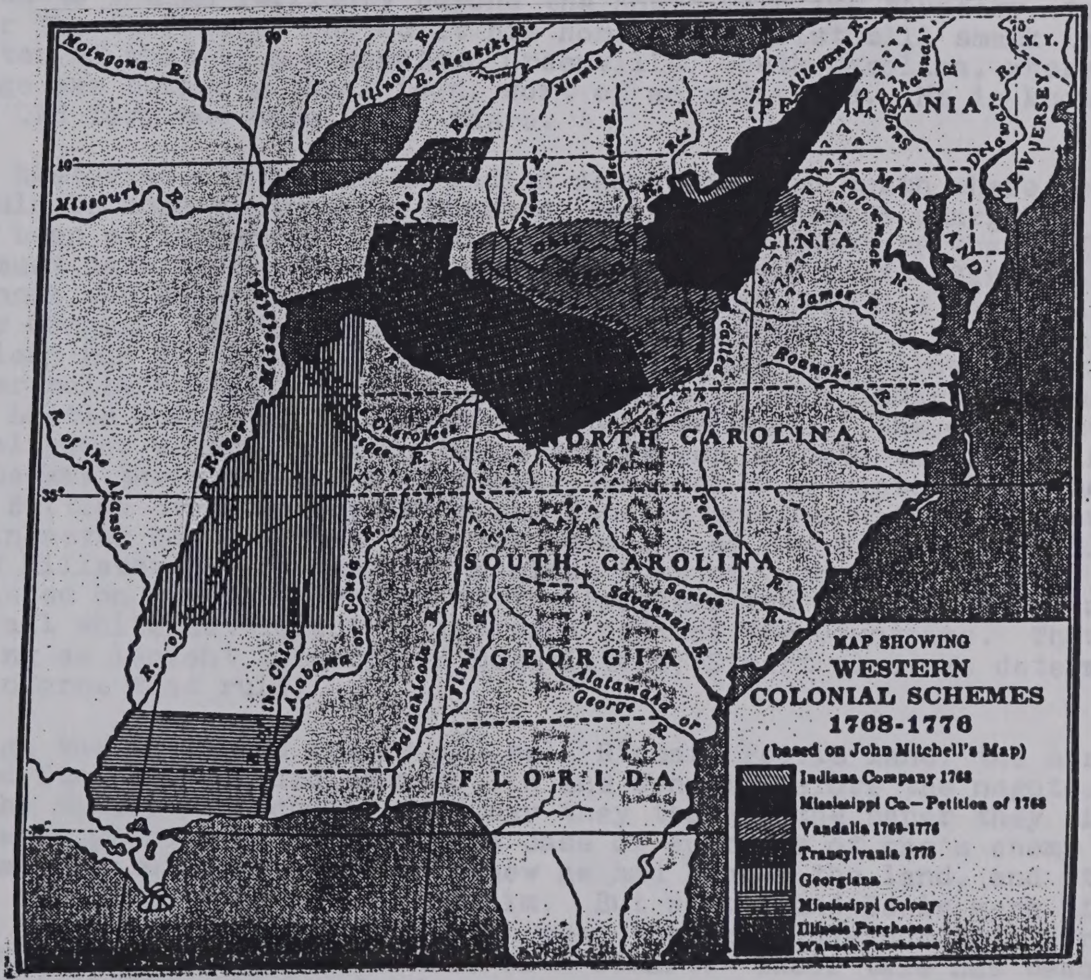
These cessions to the traders and Croghan were within the territorial claims of Virginia, and were therefore not looked upon with favor by her delegate. (This was Dr. Thomas Walker, who was now alone, Lewis having returned to Virginia in the meantime.) In later years Walker made a declaration upon which the following charge of dishonesty was based:

> The whole transaction wore the face of mystery and knavery; for though Dr. Walker was there as a public commissioner for Virginia, he was refused access to the conferences, the caution was used to conceal from him what they were about, and everything until the business was finished, was conducted privately with the Indian chiefs by Sir William Johnston (sic) and the traders.

Though Doctor Walker was unable to protect the territories of Virginia from encroachments, he was successful in accomplishing the object of his mission, the cession of the Iroquois claim on the western frontier of Virginia. Johnson's mind was also prepared for this act on the part of the Indians by being shown a deed "for a great part of these lands which they (the Virginia commissioners) assured (him) had formerly met with encouragement from His late Majesty and the then ministry." He was also assured that the Virginians intended to settle the region and that no power could prevent them. What methods were employed to persuade the Indians to part with a title to such a large extent of territory is matter of some doubt, since the story of the secret negotiations was carefully guarded. There are, however, indications of the means that were used.

A few years later Colonel William Preston, who was in a position to know, informed Lord Dunmore that Walker and Lewis made a purchase of the territory from the Indians. Of course no such a purchase is to be found in the public minutes of the congress, nor is there contemporary proof of it. Still, if Preston was correct, the whole affair has a sinister aspect. At least some contemporaries, having their opinion on information no longer accessible, believed inducements to make the cession were given to the Indians. Superintendent John Stuart received, shortly after the congress, information concerning the methods employed by the Virginia commissioners that aroused his suspicions of the whole transaction.

> Howsoever they may have been induced to do so, the Iroquois affixed a third condition to their cession in the south, a condition which was to prove most momentous in the development of the West. They insisted that their claim to the land south of the Ohio as far west as the Tennessee River was just and that the Cherokee had no rights to it; and the means they took of proving that right was the presentation of this large territory to the king. Sir William always asserted that in order to consummate the treaty he felt constrained to this departure from his instructions.
>
> The line as finally established started in northern New York near the east end of Lake Ontario, ran in a southerly direction to the Delaware River, then westerly until it touched the Alleghany River, then down that river to the Ohio and westerly along the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee. The boundary line was now completed; it extended as an unbroken line from near the Great Lakes to the Mississsissippi River in northern West Florida; it closed the far West to colonization but opened up for immediate settlement land in New York, a large part of western Pennsylvania, and the territory back of Virginia as far west as the Great Kanawha.


MAP SHOWING
WESTERN
COLONIAL SCHEMES
1768-1776
(based on John Mitchell's Map)
Indiana Company 1768
Mississippi Co.—Petition of 1768
Vandalia 1769-1776
Transylvania 1775
Georgiana
Mississippi Colony
Illinois Purchases
Wabash Purchases
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
MARYLAND
NEW JERSEY
N. Y.
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
R. Theakiki
Miamis R.
Allegany R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Potomack R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Mississippi River
R. of the Akansas
Cherokee R.
Alabama or Coosa R.
Santee R.
Savannah R.
Alatamaha or George R.
Flint R.
Apalachicola R.
40°
35°

The land hunger of those days has been likened to the gold fever of the mid-1850's that fueled a rush to California. Alvord's book used the map above, showing that the scheme just described, which produced the Indiana and Mississippi Companies, was only the first of a long series of schemes.

This and other Wharton endeavors helped sly old Ben Franklin and his son grow wealthy much faster than they ever could saving pennies a la Poor Richard's Almanac. If you really dig deep, you will soon discern that every one of the Founding Fathers of America was involved in land schemes. Thomas Jefferson's father before him, Peter Jefferson and his partner Fry were Loyal Land Company partners; when Peter died, Dr. Walker became his guardian. As late as the 1820's, Alexander Hamilton's son grew wealthy operating lead mines in Southwest Wisconsin while it was still Illinois Territory. (Richard's great grandson, our own John W, Griffith was there at the same time.) And on and on. Those gentlemen did whatever they could get away with of that nature, and the only thing that made it wrong was being on the losing side, in which case your enemy's epithets stuck and history called you evil.

The Treaty of Hard Labor takes us to 1768, the year Richard Pearis moved to Indian Territory beyond the South Carolina boundary, to be near the Cherokees. He built his home and a grist mill smack in the center of what is now downtown Greenville, South Carolina, where his image has become a local icon, sort of an anti-hero. He is known as the Old Tory who once dwelt there.

The histories say he was an Indian agent, ordered south where he "could be more centrically located" near his Cherokee charges. I have not been so fortunate as to discover what they meant by that. If true, it must have been a Virginia appointment of some kind. Sir William Johnson was superintendent of Northern Indians. He did have helpers, like Croghan, but not our Richard. The Superintendent of Southern Indians was his enemy, though Wars make strange bedfellows and they later collaborated; but not in land matters. John Stuart, rescued by the Little Carpenter from Fort Loudoun when most of the other South Carolinians were massacred, had every reason to hate them, but instead he became their staunchest defender--whether they wanted it or not. The British ministry appointed him Superintendent, with great powers Atkin never had. He was just the opposite of Sir William, an ally of Lord Hillsborough in England, nominal boss of both of them, who insisted on strict adherence to the Proclamation Line of 1763 limiting all white settlement to the area east of the mountains. Though posing as lenient to northern negotiators, Stuart also was determined to enforce that rule.

Though the Cherokees really did sell Richard Pearis land, the hard-nosed Stuart persuaded them to lie and deny it before the negotiators at the Treaty of Lochaber, and say they thought the paper they signed was an application for trade. (A case of epithets of one's enemy repeated in history) Richard knew he had bought the land, and it took more than Stuart to budge him. But Walker and Lewis were after more than a big plantation. Even when they got Governor Botetourt to back them, they got no where with Stuart. Their tale has been started, in case it involved our Richard, and needs, therefore, to be finished briefly. It is important history if nothing else, and did have at least an indirect effect on our family.

Now we will tell about the Treaty of Lochaber.

Here is how boundaries were fixed in the south by the Treaty of Hard Labor: (History of Southwest Virginia. Lewis P. Summers, pp 90-1)

> John Stuart, Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the South, concluded a treaty with the Cherokee Indians, the results of which he communicated in a letter of 17 October 1768, from Hard Labor, to the Governor of Virginia. In it he defined the resultant boundary line as
>
> "From the place called Towahilie, on the Northern Branch of the Savannah River, North 50 degrees East course in a straight line, to a place called Dewisses corner, or yellow water, from Dewisses, or yellow water, a North 50 degrees East course in a straight line to the south bank of Reedy River, at a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, where the line behind Carolina terminates. From a place called Wanghoe, or Elm Tree, to the South Bank of Reedy River, a course in a straight line to a mountain called Tagon Mountain where the great ridge of the mountains becomes impervious.* In a straight line to Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway River, to a N.B.E. course, and from Chiswell's mine on the Eastern Bank of the Great Conhoway in a straight line in a North course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway to the Ohio."

Back to Alvord, page 78 et seq:

The colony most immediately interested in the "imperial line," as it was called, was Virginia. Her citizens had already made settlements beyond the mountains, and some of them had marked out claims and built homes a considerable distance beyond the limits established at the treaty of Hard Labour. In the territory of the upper branches of the Tennessee River there were several such settlements situated on the extensive land claims of Walker and Lewis who had been the representatives of Virginia at Fort Stanwix; but the speculators had ambitions that went far beyond the securing of these Holston River settlements. Their success in securing the cession of all the land south of the Ohio from the Iroquois and their allies paved the way for enterprises throughout this region, and they made preparations to utilize this opportunity to the utmost.

The claim of the Cherokee to Kentucky, regarded in Virginia as particularly shadowy, alone stood in the way of a westward movement of population. Immediately after their return from Fort Stanwix, Lewis and Walker were sent by Governor Botetourt to lay before the superintendent of Indian affairs for the Southern Department the reasons why the boundary line with the Cherokee should be fixed farther to the West.[122] In his letter to Stuart the governor wrote:

> Our commissioners Colonel Lewis and Dr. Walker having informed me, that the line you have marked out in your several letters as a boundary betwixt the Cherokees and Virginia will determine a large tract of land to be their [Cherokees'] property, which Sir William Johnson has purchased of the Northern Indians at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix; I have by advice of the Council directed these gentlemen personally to confer with you upon that subject, that you may if possible agree together upon a fresh plan which may satisfy the Indians and observe [*sic*] to this colony the lands lately purchased as well as those which were settled before the late war.[123]

In spite of his well-based suspicions of the two commissioners, Stuart made no objection to the proposition of Virginia, provided the change were not too extensive; and in his answer he assured the governor that he would "resume a negotiation for a new line when his Majesty shall please to signify his pleasure," and in the meanwhile he would prepare the minds of the Indians for such an alteration in their agreement.[124] The new boundary to which Stuart agreed was not to include all the territory recently purchased from the Six Nations, but only to stretch over a sufficient area to include the Virginia settlements on the Holston River. In his later negotiations with the Cherokee, Stuart discovered that the Indians were willing to sell more of their lands provided the price was satisfactory.[125]

The Virginia government evidently expected this favorable reply from Stuart concerning the reopening of the negotiations with the Cherokee, for on the same day that Governor Botetourt gave Walker and Lewis their instructions, he wrote to Hillsborough of the necessity of this change. Since Stuart agreed in this necessity the Board of Trade in their lengthy report on the boundary line, dated April 20, 1769, made favorable comment on the subject but recommended that the expense of the new purchase should be borne by the colony of Virginia.[126]

This extension to the Holston River did not satisfy the speculative ambitions of the Virginians. Their imagination had pictured vast fortunes built upon the exploitation of western land and they had become impatient at the prolonged exclusion from the Ohio Valley which they looked upon as exclusively their own. The treaty of Fort Stanwix by the cession of land as far west as the Tennessee River had offered them a golden opportunity to enter into their heritage. In particular

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* Called Tryon's Mountain on following map.

the officers and soldiers who had been promised lands for their service in the late war were anxious to receive their reward. The result of the agitation of these men was a memorial by the House of Burgesses in December, 1769, to Governor Botetourt setting forth the needs of even wider limits than those proposed by Mr. Stuart.[127] The burgesses dwelt upon the great difficulty of marking and protecting a line through a mountainous territory, and they laid particular stress on the fact that "a great part of that most valuable country, lying on the Ohio, below the mouth of the Kanhaway, lately ceded to his Majesty by the Northern Indians, would be separated and divided from the British territory," within which area lands had been already legally patented. For these reasons the memorialists pointed out "that a line beginning at the Western termination of the North-Carolina line, and running thence in a due west direction to the River Ohio, may be accomplished at much less expence than the other line proposed."

To this memorial Stuart made an elaborate answer in which he criticized its contentions. The superintendent asserted that the proposed line would never touch the Ohio River and would run close to the Cherokee towns and cut off their most valuable hunting-grounds. The permission of settlements so far to the westward would arouse the hostility of every tribe and cause another Indian war. The opinion of Stuart in the end prevailed and the House of Burgesses determined on June 15, 1770, to enter upon a treaty with the Cherokee "for the lands lying within a line to be run from a place where the North Carolina terminates, in a due west direction, until it intersects Holstein River, and from there to the mouth of the Great Kanaway."[128] For this concession Virginia agreed to pay two thousand five hundred pounds.[129] The House of Burgesses assigned as the reason for renouncing the wider boundaries proposed in their memorial and their acceptance of Stuart's and the ministerial line "the menace to frontier interests resulting from the disquietude of the Indians;" but it may be that the news from London concerning the proposed establishment of a colony in the region may have been of influence upon their minds, since their purchase under the authority of the imperial government would establish more firmly Virginia's claim to part of the territory of the upper Ohio Valley.

When the idea of such a change in the line was first reported to Lord Hillsborough, he was pleased to confirm it. His letter of October 3, 1770, to Lord Botetourt offers sufficient evidence to prove his purpose at this time to permit a limited expansion of settlement to the west of the mountains. He wrote:

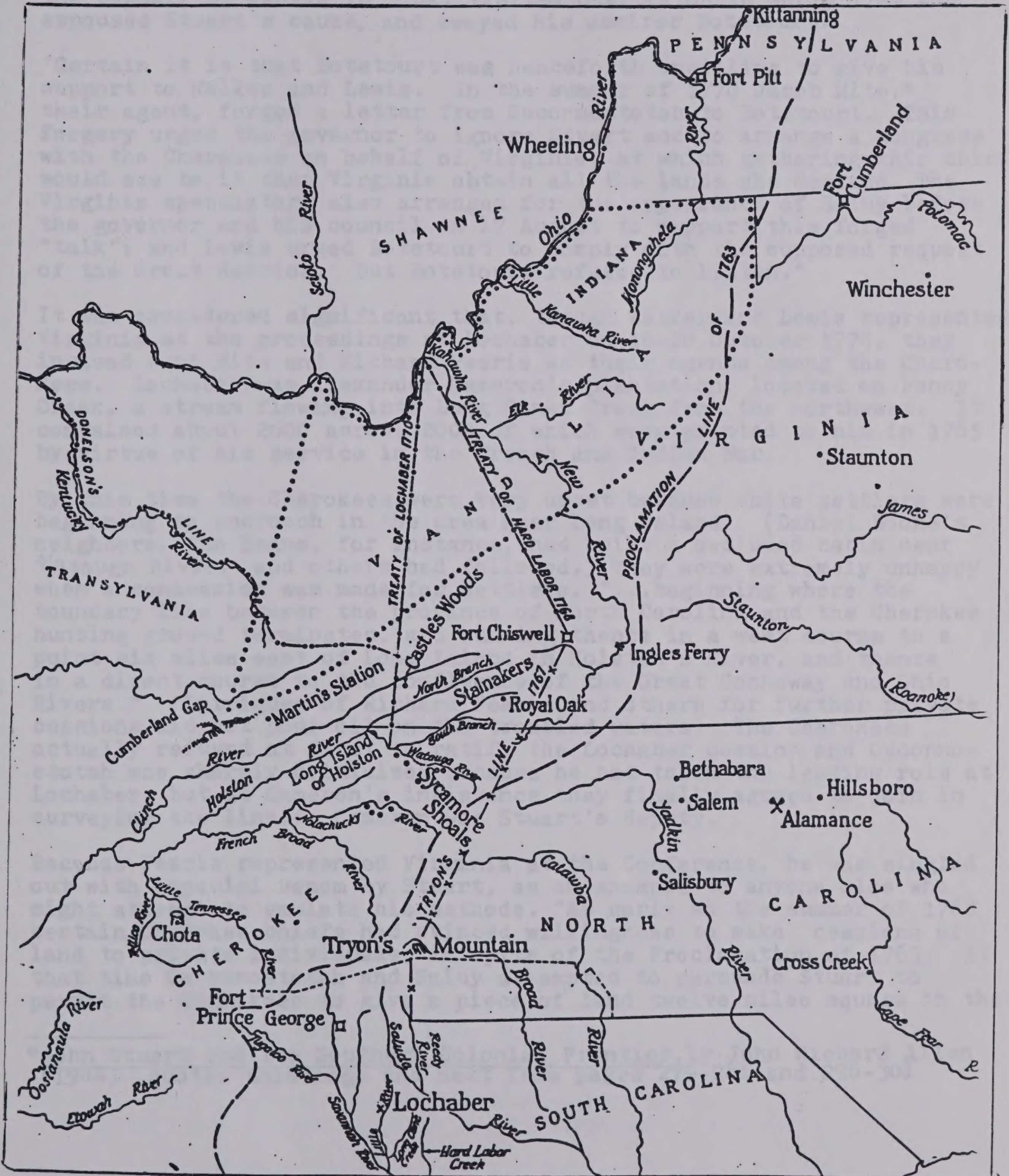
> I am convinced from the fullest consideration, that the extension of the boundary line, as proposed by the address of the House of Burgesses to you in December last, would never have been consented to by the Cherokees; or, if their consent could have been obtained, that settlement, so far to the westward, would not only have been inconsistent with the true principles of policy, but would also have been the ground of continued jealousy and disputes; and therefore it was very pleasing to me, to find that the House had receded from its claim, and closed with the proposal contained in my letter to you of the 13th of May, 1769.[130]

Some of the speculators were not yet ready to give up all hope of securing more extensive boundaries. On August 17, 1770, several Cherokee chiefs appeared before the colonial council at Williamsburg to discuss the question of western cessions. Governor Botetourt's mind was prepared for the Indians' speeches by a letter from Andrew Lewis, dated July 6, complaining of Superintendent Stuart's criticisms of Virginia's proposals and intimating that much better terms could be obtained by dealing directly with the Cherokee than through the mediation of the southern superintendent. Forged letters from some less well known speculators were also sent to the governor. One of the Cherokee chiefs spoke at length and informed the council that his people were ready to grant all the land the Virginians wanted. The governor was uninfluenced by the proceeding. He was in favor of promoting the land interests of his colony, but he was too good an administrative officer to attempt such a direct interference with the functions of another office. His answer both to the Indians and to Lewis was that cessions of land could be obtained only through the mediation of the superintendent.[131]

Stuart did not learn of this effort to circumvent him until he had completed his own negotiations at Lochaber; here, in October, 1770, he met one thousand Indians and carried out his promise to the Virginians. He reported to Lord Hillsborough: "Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self interested men in the province of Virginia to embarass me, in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation, to practice upon the Indians, and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me."[132] Stuart was able to carry through his own plans, however, in the face of this opposition. He pointed out to the Indians the necessity of changing the line in order to include the settlements on the Holston River. The Indians were not disposed to make so large a cession as was demanded, but the southern superintendent was successful in his arguments; and it was finally agreed that the line should follow approximately the course accepted by the Virginia assembly and approved by Hillsborough.[133]

Much more was told by Alvord, but we don't have the space. The results at Lochaber did not satisfy Lewis and Walker, soon let down by Botetourt, nor the Virginia French & Indian War veterans who had been promised land grants for service (Richard's son-in-law included). Sgt. George Teter finally received bounty land in Kentucky early 1780.

Colonel John Donelson, then official Pittsylvania Co. VA surveyor, was appointed by Gov. Lord Botetourt as his representative at the Treaty of Lochaber. Subsequently Donelson deliberately misunderstood his mandate to run the line to the Louisa River (really a branch of the west fork of the Great Sandy River) instead calling Kentucky River the Louisa. This map shows the status after that.


Kittanning
PENNSYLVANIA
Fort Pitt
Wheeling
Fort Cumberland
Potomac
Cumberland
Ohio River
Allegheny River
Monongahela
Scioto River
SHAWNEE
INDIANA
Little Kanawha River
Kanawha River
Elk River
Winchester
VIRGINIA
VANDALIA
Staunton
James
PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763
TREATY OF LOCHABER 1770
TREATY OF HARD LABOR 1768
New River
DONELSON'S Kentucky LINE River
TRANSYLVANIA
Castle's Woods
Fort Chiswell
Ingles Ferry
Staunton
Roanoke
Stalnakers
1767
Royal Oak
Martin's Station
Cumberland Gap
North Branch
South Branch
Watauga River
Long Island of Holston
Holston River
Clinch River
Sycamore Shoals
LINE
Bethabara
Salem
Hillsboro
Alamance
Yadkin
Nolachucky River
French Broad River
Little Tennessee River
Tellico River
Chota
CHEROKEE
Catawba
Salisbury
NORTH CAROLINA
TRYON'S LINE
Tryon's Mountain
Cross Creek
Cape Fear R.
Fort Prince George
Broad River
River
Saluda
Reedy River
Tugaloo River
Oostanaula River
Etowah River
Lochaber
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah River
Hard Labor Creek

Not many years later this Pittsylvania County man would lead a flotilla down the Tennessee River and up the Cumberland to begin the very first settlement in middle Tennessee at the site of Nashville. His youngest daughter Rachel would become bride of future President Andrew Jackson. But back to our story. Sir William Draper, hero of the capture of Manila in 1762, visited Charleston in early 1769 and espoused Stuart's cause, and swayed his admirer Botetourt.

"Certain it is that Botetourt was henceforth unwilling to give his support to Walker and Lewis. In the summer of 1770 Jacob Hite,* their agent, forged a letter from Ouconnostotah to Botetourt. This forgery urged the governor to ignore Stuart and to arrange a congress with the Cherokees on behalf of Virginia, at which gathering this chief would see to it that Virginia obtain all the lands she desired. The Virginia speculators also arranged for the appearance of Saluy before the governor and his council on 17 August to support this forged "talk"; and Lewis urged Botetourt to comply with the supposed request of the Great Warrior. But Botetourt refused to listen."

It was considered significant that, though Walker and Lewis represented Virginia at the proceedings at Lochaber on 18-20 October 1770, they instead sent Hite and Richard Pearis as their agents among the Cherokees. Lochaber was Alexander Cameron's plantation, located on Penny Creek, a stream flowing into Long Canes Creek from the northwest. It contained about 2600 acres, 2000 of which were granted to him in 1765 by virtue of his service in the French and Indian War.

By this time the Cherokees were very upset because white settlers were beginning to encroach in the area near Long Island. (Daniel Boone's neighbors, the Beans, for instance, had built a secluded cabin near Watauga River, and others had followed.) They were extremely unhappy when a concession was made for settlers, "...beginning where the boundary line between the province of North Carolina and the Cherokee hunting ground terminates, and running thence in a west course to a point six miles east of Long Island in Holsten's River, and thence in a direct course to the confluence of the Great Conhoway and Ohio Rivers." "Intrigues of Richard Pearis and others for further private cessions did not pour oil on the troubled waters. The Cherokees actually refused at first to ratify the Lochaber cession and Ouconnostotah was sharply criticized because he had taken the leading role at Lochaber, but at Cameron's insistence they finally agreed to join in surveying the line." Cameron was Stuart's deputy.

Because Pearis represented Virginia at the Conference, he was singled out with especial venom by Stuart, as an example to anyone else who might attempt to emulate his methods. "As early as the summer of 1768 certain Cherokee chiefs had evinced willingness to make cessions of land to private individuals, in spite of the Proclamation of 1763. At that time Ouconnostotah and Saluy attempted to persuade Stuart to permit the Cherokees to give a piece of land twelve miles square in the

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*John Stuart and the Southern Colonial Frontier, by John Richard Allen (1944) quotes this page and next from pages 279-281 and 298-301

"valley of the Saluda River beyond the South Carolina Indian line to a son of Cameron by a Cherokee woman. When Stuart pointed out that their proposal was contrary to the proclamation, the chiefs adroitly argued that the proclamation did not apply, since Cameron's son was an Indian. At the Congress of Hard Labor the Cherokees importuned the superintendent so forcefully that he placed the matter before Hillsborough. The Cherokees actually measured off the land they desired to give, although Stuart prevented..the cession.

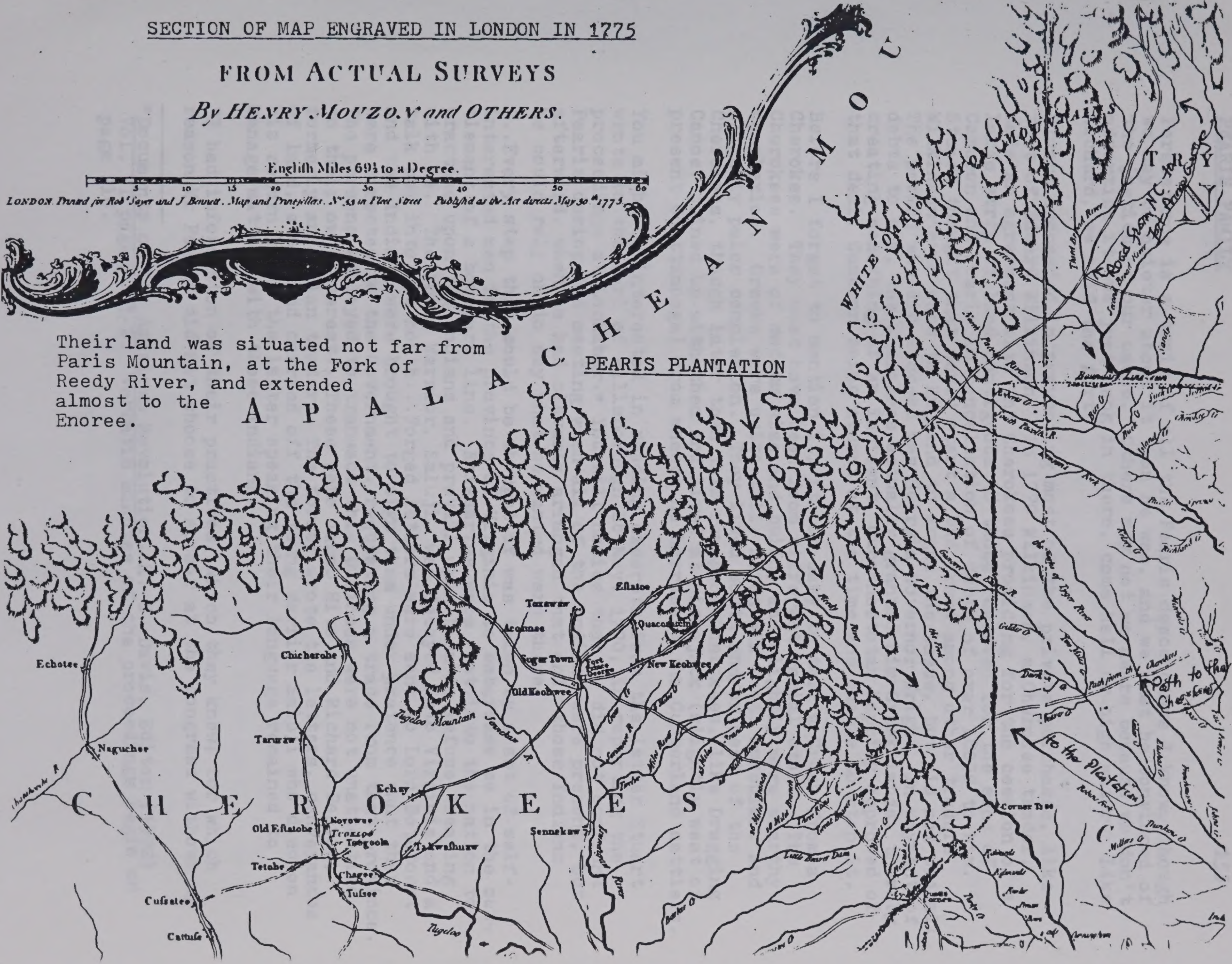
"In the winter of 1768-9 another scheme..came to light. When Dr. Walker came to Charleston in January, Walker carried to Cameron a letter from David Ross, formerly a factor in the Virginia..company. Ross proposed to Cameron that they persuade the Cherokees to earmark for them some desirable lands and to insist the grant be consumated at the next formal treaty...Cameron reported the overture to Stuart, who placed it before Hillsborough...Ross's scheme fell through...

"The next attempt to consummate a private purchase--in the final analysis a successful one--was made by Richard Pearis. According to Cameron ..Pearis was a finished scoundrel; Cameron claimed that Pearis even managed to cheat Walker and Lewis while acting as their agent among the Cherokees. Certainly Pearis's activities in behalf of Walker and Lewis did not occupy all his energies. In 1769 he secretly and fraudulenty secured the consent of a number of Lower Cherokees to a cession twelve miles square in the valley of the upper Saluda for his half-breed Cherokee son. In the following year with the aid of Saluy, whom he promised maintenance for life in return for his services, Pearis strove to secure the approval of the whole Nation. He obtained signatures to a deed by representing to the Cherokees that it was a petition for the establishment of a trade with Virginia." (According to Stuart and his assistant Cameron--who was probably jealous Pearis got away with the same thing he failed to accomplish! They were determined to make an example of Pearis. The truth got twisted.)

"Cuconnostotah opposed his scheme, and Stuart quashed his attempt to have the grant approved at Lochaber. Pearis was not dismayed. With Jacob Hite, to whom he had sold part of the land, he simply assumed that the cession was complete and legal; and the superintendent was unable to stop him from making use of it. Because the land was within the jurisdiction of South Carolina, Stuart finally appealed to the governor and council of that province for help. He was referred to the acting attorney general, James Simpson. Simpson unearthed the South Carolina act of 1739 forbidding private purchases and prosecuted Pearis and Hite. (This will be shown on a later page.) Late in 1773 at the newly-established circuit court at Ninety-Six, both were found guilty of violating the act. They were forced to renounce their titles, and were also fined. But Pearis placed the grant in his son's name in the winter of 1774-5, had it surveyed, and persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out titles for the son in the same court. Pearis settled upon the land, was driven from it by the patriots at the onset of the Revolution, and was later compensated for its loss by the British Loyalist Commission!"

Do not forget that the information on this and the preceding page was taken from the writings of John Stuart and Alexander Cameron!

SECTION OF MAP ENGRAVED IN LONDON IN 1775


FROM ACTUAL SURVEYS
By HENRY MOUZON and OTHERS.
English Miles 69½ to a Degree.
LONDON. Printed for Robt Sayer and J Bennett. Map and Printsellers. No 53 in Fleet Street Publish'd as the Act directs May 30th 1775.
PEARIS PLANTATION
APALACHEAN MOUNTAINS
WHITE OAK MOUNTAINS
CHEROKEES
Road from NC to Pr Grange
Path to the Cherokees
to the Plantation
Boundary Line
Reedy River
the Fork
Tugeloo Mountain
Estatoe
Taxawaw
Aconnee
Sugar Town
Fort Prince George
Quacoratchie
New Keohwee
Old Keohwee
Chicherohe
Echotee
Naguchee
Tarrarw
Echay
Old Estatohe
Noyowee
Tooslog or Toogooloo
Tetohe
Chagee
Tussee
Cussatee
Cattuse
Tahwashuaw
Sennekaw
Corner Tree
Little Beaver Dam
Three Runs
Tugeloo

Their land was situated not far from Paris Mountain, at the Fork of Reedy River, and extended almost to the Enoree.

Persistence is a trait of all the Pearis descendants I know, though we may be quieter about it than he was, and we must be convinced of the justice of our cause. Others may not we aware because we don't advertise it--we just hang in there, come hell or high water. Like Richard, we hold the fort.

Stuart succeeded in preventing most of the private purchases, like that of Edward Wilkinson. In 1770 Wilkinson, a Cherokee trader, made an agreement with the Cherokees providing for the cession of a large strip of land contiguous to those reserved for the sons of Cameron and Pearis in cancellation of debts of over Ƚ8000 to him. Stuart thought that would start a bad trend among other traders. Wilkinson even went to England to argue the issue, but did not prevail. The person who did succeed was Georgia Governor Wright, In payment of debts to him, the Cherokees actually granted him Creek lands, thereby creating something of an incident. Ouconnostotah happily approved of that deal, Cameron being absent at the time and unable to stop it.

Before I forget to mention it, it was easy to tell a Creek from a Cherokee. They must have been from different racial stock. The Cherokees were of medium size and build, and slightly more swarthy complexion. Creeks were quite tall, often six feet, muscular, and slightly paler complexion. They lived south and/or west of the Cherokees, though later than this renegade Cherokees, like Dragging Canoe, joined up with them and lived at Nickojack (slightly west of present Chattanooga) from whence he harrassed the Cumberland settlers.

You might be interested in reading excerpts from the letter Stuart wrote to the Earl of Hillsborough 28 Nov. 1770, in reporting the proceedings at Lochabar.* You will notice that he did not confront Pearis during the meeting when all of the Indians were present, but afterward, when he had cleverly arranged that only those Indians he could rely on to say what he wanted were there.

"..Every step that could be thought of was taken by a set of self-interested men in the province of Virginia to embarrass me in the settlement of a boundary line. Emissaries were sent into the nation to practice upon the Indians and prevail upon them to refuse treating with me. The Young Warrior, Saluji, was decoyed into Virginia and a talk put into his mouth...Forged letters were sent to Lord Botetourt and the Indians were brought to sign them under pretence that they were directed to the Government..requesting a trade from that province. The persons employed to transact this business were not unattentive to their own interest...These were Jacob Hite and Richard Pearis, formerly an Indian trader. The former wrote the letters, conveyances of land, etc., and carried off the Young Warrior Saluji who died on his return home; the latter speaking their language remained to manage matters with those Indians.

"I had information of their practices, which they knew; for which reason Mr Peares did not choose to appear at the congress without my

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*Documents of the American Revolution, K. G. Davis, Editor (1972) Vol. II pages 261-2. Verbatim minutes of the proceedings begin on page 210.

"permission, which he applied for as he said in order to justify his conduct. After the treaty was signed I sent for him and he came. I confronted him with the Indians in presence of Colonel Donelson, and they declared with great indignation their utter ignorance of the letters and talk referred to in the minutes of the Council of Virginia, as well as of the titles of land obtained from them, persisting that they understood them to be letters soliciting a trade as aforementioned...."

The following illustration will demonstrate that Stuart cast around for any support for his policies he could get. Sometimes he was successful, others less so. He attempted to get North Carolina Governor William Tryon as an ally, without much success. It could even be that Mitchell, the Salisbury merchant alluded to, was acquainted with Richard's brother Robert??

From: Colonial Records of North Carolina (2nd Series) Robert J. Cain, editor. Volume IX, page 237
Records of the Executive Council 1755-1775, Minutes 1770

Given under my hand and the Great Seal etc. at New Bern 27th August 1770.
Wm. Tryon.

His Excellency was pleased to lay before this board Several Letters of Correspondence that passed between him, Mr. Steuart the Superintendant of Indian Affairs, and one from Mr. Cameron the Deputy Superintendant (with a Letter from Mr. Mitchell Merchant in Salisbury) and desired the Opinion of this Board whether any measures can be taken to prevent Richd. Paris from Settling the Cherokee Lands on the Western Frontiers of this Province. It is the opinion of this Board that as Richard Paris is not an Inhabitant of this Province, they are at a loss to know what Steps to recommend to remedy the matter complained of by Mr. Steuart, But that this Goverment will take Effectual care that no Settlement shall be formed on the said Lands but under Grants from the Crown.

Then His Excellency desired the Opinion of this Board, as the Suggestions in Mr. Steuarts and Mr. Camerons above Letters intimate a dissatisfaction of his conduct towards the Cherokees, whether in his Behaviour to the said Indians he has at any time been wanting in Attention and regard to their Interest. It is the Unanimous Opinion of this Board, that the Suggestions set forth are false and frivolous and that the discontent of the said Indians appear to have been excited by the Traders settled amongst them.

His Excellency informed this Board, that in pursuance of a Petition from the Freeholders in the Town of Hillsborough, he thought fit to Grant a Charter of Incorporation[123] to the said Town, bearing date the 9th day of July last, with a power of returning a Burgess to the General Assembly Ordered that the said Charter be read, and recorded in the Secretarys Office.

At a Council held at the Council Chamber at New Bern on thursday 18th October 1770. Present His Excellency the Governor. The Hon'ble John Rutherfurd, Lewis DeRosset, Alexr. McCulloh, Robert Palmer, and Samuel Cornell Esqrs.

(WI State Hx Soc #F257 N67--1994)

Though it is quite possible Richard Pearis had visited that part of South Carolina before 1768 in his travels as a trader, the family had never lived there, and probably were shocked by the conditions they found. Regulator groups were riding roughshod as they dealt out summary justice to suspected wrongdoers, and many a man was "hung by mistake" before the real culprit was discovered. And the once proud Cherokee nation was in a pitiful impoverished state, easy prey for men like Williamson and Georgia Governor Wright and others who inveigled them into debt and then demanded land in payment. To understand the part of the story that follows, it is necessary to understand what brought this all about.

All South Carolina histories will tell you these things, but for the benefit of those who have never read them, I will try to do it briefly. Earlier in this book, we left our Cherokees (or they us) becoming increasingly disenchanted by the "Great Men of Virginia" and other whites. Before that we mentioned Fort Loudoun, built near Chota to replace the Virginia Fort, never manned, which Richard helped build. Governor Glen, who had been a very good governor (and who, by the way, had tried to get the Charleston Council to build courts as early as 1753 in the backcountry which would have prevented the later Regulator mess) was on his way to help supervise the building of the fort in the summer of 1756, when he learned that he had been superseded by Governor William Henry Lyttleton, a baron and former ambassador to Portugal, who felt supremely confident in his ability to handle a few rude savages. His very undiplomatic handling led many of them, who never would have done so had Glen been there, to listen to the inducements of the French. He did encourage warriors to go north to help General Forbes' Army. But, as we have seen, some of those who went, were there to see who would give the best gifts. A series of frontier killings (not handled well by authorities) led to a state of war in September 1759. Some Indians were locked up as hostages at frontier Fort Prince George, as precaution, to be traded for the real culprits. An insufficient number of guards were left when other troops left. Cherokees seized the fort and slaughtered the guards. For the next two years the frontier blazed with gunfire. Lyttleton was withdrawn to England and left the colony in the better hands of Governor William Bull. Among the devastated settlements was Long Canes (shown on the Lochaber Treaty map) where Ulster Scots lived. Nearly 100 Cherokees fell on them and butchered men, women, and children, among them the mother of Patric Calhoun, grandmother of powerful statesman John C. Calhoun.

Our Thomas Dyal, Jr., great grandfather of Mary Ann Dial who married Pearis descendant John W. Griffith, fought in these Cherokee Wars, late 1759 and into 1760. General Jeffrey Amherst was appealed to for aid, and he sent south Col. Archibald Montgomery (Lord Eglinton) and his Royal Scots (1200 men) who also included South Carolinians gathered on the way, and marched into the Lower Towns on June 1, burning villages, destroying crops, and killing or capturing those he could. Boasting that he had "chastised" the Indians, he left prematurely. In 1761 Amherst sent another Scotsman, Col. James Grant with 1200 regulars, 400 South Carolinians, and other militia who marched over the mountains, burning all of the Cherokee towns, destroying all crops, and driving the Cherokees into the mountains to

starve. The Cherokees had no alternative but to sue for a humiliating peace which left the Piedmont open to immigrants. (Under Old Hop in 1756, and Governor Glen, in return for Fort Loudoun they had ceded to King George II all the Cherokee lands in South Carolina except for the northwest corner comprising present Greenville, Anderson, Pickens and Oconee Counties.) During that time North Carolina had built Fort Dobbs not far from Salisbury, on the route immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania followed into North and South Carolina. The Cherokee War was scarcely over before a tide of mostly Ulster Scots but including others were pouring down over that road to settle, expecting little but subsistence.

The Upcountry was too far distant from markets to attract planters who hoped to get rich from the labor of slaves, though a scattering of Low Country planters, perhaps with clairvoyance about the future, contrived to get grants there, but much greater opportunities were at the same time opening up in Georgia, for rice grown near the Savannah river, etc., and for forest products marketed by the same route. William Henry Drayton, considered a patriot later but to us a villain, tried to get land in the Indian Territory but was quashed by Stuart. Perhaps that made him even more rabid in his later endeavors. Governor Wright, as we saw, fleeced the Cherokees and especially the Creeks in the Georgia Upcountry.

Selfish tidewater planters who had grown very wealthy from the forced labor of gangs of maltreated slaves, controlled the government from Charleston, where all the courts were, run by grasping lawyers who wanted to collect all the legal fees to be had in the entire colony. Through their influence, the Council refused to let any seats of justice be established anywhere else. Backcountry victims had to spend more than the case was worth to travel to the city, where cases were often postponed indefinitely. Many entire books have been written on the subject.* Finally taking matters into their own hands, the Regulator movement was formed in desperation.

Even before the Cherokee outbreak, the planters had become almost paranoid in their fear of insurrection of their African slaves even though in their quest for riches they continued to import more, and also in their fear of the Indians on the frontier who were becoming increasingly angry because South Carolina traders were fleecing them. Instead of addressing the grievances, they decided the menace from both races could be solved by the settlement of poor white farmers in the back country. Three new townships were set up west of a

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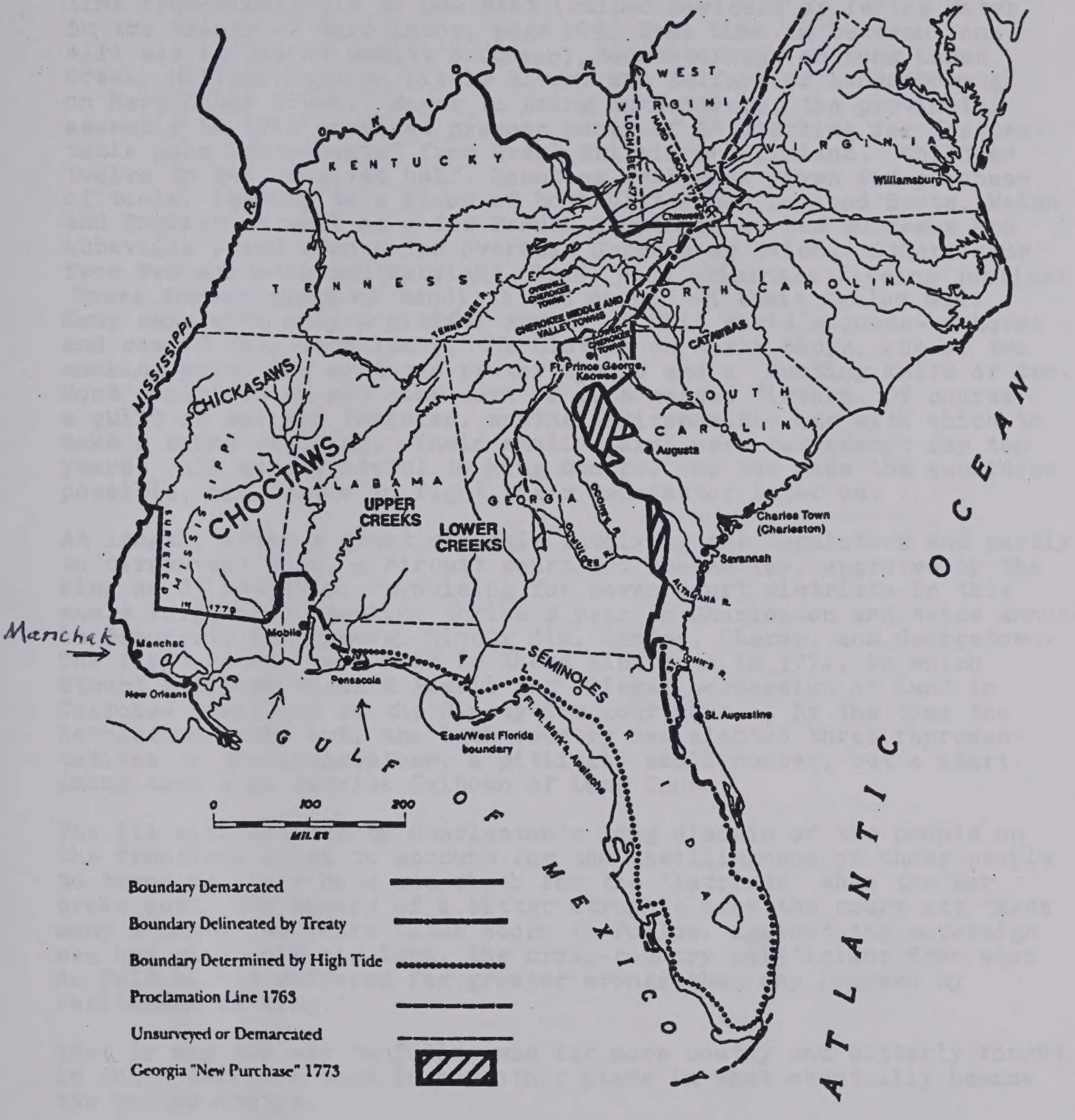
*One such unusual, entertaining book is The South Carolina Back-Country on the Eve of the Revolution, the journal of a high-church Anglican missionary, Charles Woodmason, who set out about that time to convert the whole backcountry to his particular brand of theology. Knowing nothing of their culture and bigoted against all other faiths, he exaggerates grossly, especially against Presbyterians, who told him bluntly that they "wanted no god-dam black-gowned sons of bitches there." Despite all this, in due time he became sympathetic to their plight and assisted Regulators in their petitions to establish seats of justice.


Manchek
OHIO R.
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Williamsburg
LOCHABER 1770
Chiswell
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
OVERHILL CHEROKEE TOWNS
CHEROKEE MIDDLE AND VALLEY TOWNS
LOWER CHEROKEE TOWNS
CATAWBAS
Ft. Prince George, Keowee
TENNESSEE R.
MISSISSIPPI
CHICKASAWS
SOUTH CAROLINA
Augusta
CHOCTAWS
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
UPPER CREEKS
LOWER CREEKS
GEORGIA
OCONEE R.
OGEECHEE R.
Charles Town (Charleston)
Savannah
ALTAMAHA R.
SURVEYED IN 1779
Mobile
Manchac
Pensacola
New Orleans
SEMINOLES
ST. JOHN'S R.
St. Augustine
East/West Florida boundary
Ft. St. Mark's, Apalache
FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
0 100 200
MILES
Boundary Demarcated
Boundary Delineated by Treaty
Boundary Determined by High Tide
Proclamation Line 1763
Unsurveyed or Demarcated
Georgia "New Purchase" 1773

Map of the Southeast with current state boundaries, showing locations relevant to Stuart's superintendency.

Besides showing where the various Indian tribes of the South were living in the 1770's, this also locates Manchac, Mobile, Pensacola, and other places which will be mentioned later. There were two Floridas- East and West.

From: John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier
by J. Russell Snap (1996) opposite Introduction page

line from Ninety-Six to Due West (called Dewisses or Yellow Water in the Treaty of Hard Labor, page 149. Some time in between one will see it called DeWitt's Corner), Boonesborough on Long Canes Creek, Hillsborough on Little River, and Belfast or Londonborough on Hard Labor Creek. Eager to bring in settlers, the provincial assembly in 1761 provided passage money of Ł4 sterling for "respectable poor Protestants" from Great Britain and Ireland. Children twelve to two received half. Bounties were also given for purchase of tools, leading to a flood of both Ulster and Lowland Scots, Welsh and English as well as a few French Huguenots at New Bordeaux and Abbeville , and even a few overseas Germans or Swiss. Others came from Pennsylvania and Maryland. Some were criminals fleeing justice! These formed gangs of banditti and preyed on their fellow man. Many came with only a pitiful supply of this world's goods--a horse and cow if they were lucky, the clothes on their backs, one or two cooking pots, two or three pewter spoons and a hunting knife or two. Most contrived to get some sort of much-needed firearm. Of course a quilt or two was included, andthe indispensable axe with which to make a crude dwelling. Their small claims were tax-exempt for ten years. All were grateful to King George, who had made the subsidies possible, and loathe to fight their benefactor later on.

At length, after a great struggle involving the Regulators and partly to circumvent them, a circuit court act became law, approved by the king on 25 Nov 1769, providing for seven court districts in this whole large area, meeting thrice a year in Charleston and twice annually in Beaufort, Orangeburg, Ninety Six, Camden, Cheraw, and Georgetown. The first courts were held in these districts in 1772, in which Stuart indicted Richard Pearis for illegal possession of land in Cherokee Territory at the Ninety-Six courthouse. By the time the Revolution broke out, the back country had elected three representatives to the legislature, a pitifully small number, but a start. Among them was Patrick Calhoun of Long Canes.

The ill will aroused by Charleston's long disdain of the people on the frontiers helps to account for the unwillingness of those people to throw up their hats and cheer for the "Patriots" when the War broke out. The memory of a bitter struggle over the court act "made many a man a few years later scorn to follow, against the sovereign who had given him his land, the cross-country politicians from whom he felt he had suffered far greater wrongs than any imposed by Parliament or King."

That is why the war to follow was far more costly and bitterly fought in South Carolina than in any other place in what eventually became the United States.

In the meantime the persistent Pearis was still a thorn in Stuart's side. Others are starting to get the same idea, as he complained in January 1773 in another letter to Lord Hillsborough., in which he neglects to mention that, although his deputy Cameron never took up residence there, he was grazing his cattle in a huge tract not far from Pearis. The locals called these places "Cowpens." a section of the letter follows.

> Some time the following year Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite both from Virginia went into the Cherokee nation and obtained cessions of large parcels of land, the former under a pretence of his having a son by an Indian woman, the latter fraudulently by pretending to write letters to the governor of Virginia and me, by which means he got the Indians to sign a deed of cession. When I met the Cherokees at Lochaber in 1770 to settle the Virginia line, I found great fault with the chiefs for having contrary to their promise given away any land without an application by me. I confronted them with Pearis, when they denied their having signed any paper but what they understood to have been a letter to Lord Botetourt and me relative to trade. As none of the abovementioned parcels of land have been accepted of by me for His Majesty or included within the boundary lines then agreed, I have not heard that Mr Cameron has taken possession of any part of it. Pearis and Hite have not only taken possession themselves but have sold great tracts to emigrants from the Northern Colonies and have lately been treating for and marking out more land which sets a bad precedent and causes great confusion. I thought it my duty to take every step to remedy this evil and by advice of His Majesty's Attorney-General of this province I have directed prosecutions to be commenced against the said Pearis and Hite, the issue of which I shall be careful to communicate to your lordship.
>
> At the same congress in 1770 the Cherokee chiefs declared their inclinations to give to Mr Edward Wilkinson or to cede to His Majesty a parcel of land by way of satisfaction or payment of their debts due to Mr Wilkinson; but this proposal appearing to me at that time to have been of a new nature and unexpedient, I discountenanced it also. And here, my lord, I must do Mr Wilkinson the justice to say that he did not take any clandestine or underhand steps to carry his point, and it was not till the month of December following and after the Georgia traders had solicited and obtained from the Cherokees a cession of a large tract in that province by way of payment of their debts that he had the abovementioned lands run out for him.
>
> The cessions abovementioned in favour of Mr Cameron's son, Pearis, Hite and Mr Wilkinson do not contain less than 6 or 700,000 acres of very excellent land but approach so near the Cherokee towns that I declined accepting of them when I settled the boundaries.
>
> I must beg leave to observe to your lordship that if His Majesty should be pleased to order the Creeks and Cherokees to be treated with for the lands in Georgia, and if said lands are to be disposed of for payment of the debts due by the Indians to the traders, Mr Wilkinson will have a right to his proportion of the sum arising from the sale of them in common with other traders. *Signed.* [C.O.5/74, fo. 35]

Not only did Pearis not budge, but during this time he evidently was selling tracts in his cession to emigrants from the north.* On 21 Dec 1773, Stuart wrote: "The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite, who illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon the established boundary, came on before the circuit court of Ninety Six last month, when judgment was given against them

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*Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788 by Walter H. Mohr (1933) pages 12-14 Quotes and excerpts on the next few pages from this.

"and they relinquished all claims or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue ofany deed orconveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future, but I beg leave to observe to your Lordship that this success is owing to the existance (sic) of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist, I should be very doubtful of success."

Footnotes say that the 8 January 1773 letter shown last page enclosed a map of the lands surveyed by Patric Calhoun, Deputy-Surveyor 8 Dec 1770 for Wilkinson--also reservations of Cameron and Pearis. What we wouldn't give for a copy of that map, but it is probably locked up in some vault in England. The general map on page 154 will have to do forus. Mohr goes on to tell more about Wilkinson, then,

"In South Carolina William Henry Drayton wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba reservation for a term of years. Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773, ""The King much approves the step you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the Council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it."" " The information in this paragraph is particularly revealing to us, and we wonder if it had anything to do with Drayton's resolve two years later to rebel against King George. He and Pearis soon became bitter opponents, and we will soon hear more from him.

Lest the reader should get the idea that Stuart was steadfast in his support for the abused Indians, the following incident disproves that. Georgia GovernorWright, powerful and influential with some of the English peers, was able to make the ploy about Indians owing him large amounts from his trading business stick. "Stuart was one of the chief negotiators at the treaty which was made at Augusta. The Creeks were not willing to make any cessions. However, at the treaty which was completed on 1 June 1773, the Indians finally ceded 2,100,000 acres comprising land in Wilkes, Lincoln, Taliaferro, Green, Oglethorpe and Elbert counties, Georgia. The Indians were discontented with their bargain...the traders had been expected to furnish the goods for the treaty but failed to do so, and Stuart...made a few hasty purchases. Stuart and Wright insisted that the Indians punish murderers of white settlers on the new purchase, and when Creeks hesitated an embargo was placed on trade with this tribe...by Oct 1774 the Creeks seemed willing to meet British demands. During these negotiations, Stuart discovered another deal in which Jonathan Bryan of Georgia leased from Creeks located in East Florida. The Indians tore up the deed at the conference, but on the way home Bryan inveigled them into renewing it.

"In the secluded valley through which flowed the Watauga River on the Watauga River on the western frontier of Virginia and North Carolina, a group of restless frontiersmen began the famous push which was finally to secure the western regions for the United States. When it

was discovered that their land was beyond the boundaries of Virginia and on the Indian reservation, these settlers adopted a working agreement among themselves andproceeded to secure a ten-year lease from the Cherokees for the territory which they occupied...Cameron chided one of the chiefs...who replied that the Indian who negotiated..was not authorized and a great rogue. At the same time he confessed he had taken his share of the goods...By 1773 ..Jacob Brown secured title to land as far south as the mouth of Camp Creek on the Nollichucky."

(Here we should pause to remember that since their 1661 punishment by the Army of Colonel James Grant had destroyed all their earthly possessions and all their crops and driven them into the mountains to starve, they had been in a pitiful state, and much decimated in population and prone to disease. They did not require as much land as before with their reduced numbers, and proceeds of land sales seemed to them like a bonanza. Prices received for deerskins and furs was in a recession, making their hunters prey for people like Wright and Wilkinson.)

Meanwhile Pearis was not budging. Cameron, who detested Pearis with fiery vengance was ready to believe any rumor about him, or probably to make one up himself. Knowing how contemptuous Richard had been of people who stole "the King's horses" while he was stationed at Fort Cumberland during the War, the following accusation seems far-fetched. On 11 Oct 1773 he wrote Stuart that Richard Pearis was smuggling rum into the Cherokee tribe; also that Pearis was encouraging the whites and reds to bring in stolen horses which he then sold in Virginia. As far back as 1757 when he set aside the doweries for Sarah and Margaret, their portions were to include many valuable saddle horses, as we have read. It seems obvious he must still have been raising herds of horses on the fine land he had acquired, and very well may have sold them wherever the market was. Prosperous Virginians would have been willing to pay a premium for fine horses. I find it unlikely he would have the need or inclination to buy stolen horses, though Cameron may have convinced himself it was true because he wanted to believe it. There was a suggestion when he was quite young that Pearis enjoyed rum. Dinwiddie had once remarked to Lewis, "See to it that Pearis behaves himself & does not drink too much." There seems to have been no suggestion of anything like that later and Dinwiddie might have got the idea from a single incident. But to be honest, if he still enjoyed an occasional drink of rum with the Indians I would not be surprised. His accomplishments before and after prove he was not a drunkard. Other more unscrupulous traders did stoop to selling rum back then. Evidently Galpin, who will be mentioned later, did so. On 2 4 Sept 1773, the statement was made that "Galpin seems determined to observe no regulation whatsoever" regarding giving rum to the Indians. Galpin became an Indian agent for the "Patriots" during the Revolution. He had been a successful trader in Georgia for a very long time. Some say Pearis had wanted that job, but I have seen no proof of it.

Meanwhile back up North, the Mason-Dixon line was being started, and Virginia Gov. Dunmore was himself delving into land schemes. Major Andrew Lewis was in cahoots with him, and ready to fight the Indians in the "Dunmore War."

17 December 1774 Cameron wrote to Stuart that Richard Henderson and others were among the Cherokees and he suspected that they were trying to make some land purchases. These preliminary negotiations culminated in the Henderson purchase of 17 March 1775 at Sycamore Shoals. By this purchase a large tract of land bounded by the Kentucky, Holston, Cumberland, and Ohio Rivers became the property of Richard Henderson and Company. Henderson was undoubtedly influenced in this purchase by an opinion supposed to be derived from the eminent British jurists Camden and Yorke to the effect that deeds made at public conferences by Indians as sovereign nations and the bona fide owners of the land were valid conveyances and required no confirmation by the Crown.

"This purchase aroused opposition, and protests were made by Stuart, Cameron, and the Governors of Virginia and North Carolina. Although Virginia held the Henderson deed void against the state she later considered it valid against the Cherokees." Thus, at Henderson's expense, Virginia became owner of Kentucky in March 1775. By the same date five years later, Richard's son-in-law George Teter and his wife Sarah (Pearis) Teter were already owners of bounty land there.

Everyone knows the story of Daniel Boone and his sponsor Judge Richard Henderson. Only enough will be told here to show that Captain Richard Pearis, his former trading partner Nathaniel Gist, and former partner, Thomas Price were there as interested spectators. Price, who also still worked occasionally for Pearis was used as an interpreter during the ceremonies.

Extracted from Dawn of Tennessee, Samuel Cole Williams (1939)pp 402-5

In the autumn Richard Henderson and Nathaniel Hart, representing the company, passed[5] through the Watauga and Nolachucky Settlements on their way to the Overhill towns to treat with the Indians. They were joined and guided by Thomas Price, an old trader to the Cherokees and an interpreter, who then lived on Cherokee Creek, in the present county of Washington, between those two settlements. Henderson and Hart, also, returned through the settlements.

The visit of the Carolinians to the Cherokee towns was promptly reported by Cameron to Stuart and by the latter to Lord Dartmouth in London.[6]

The chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, after Henderson's visit, delegated Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla), their reliance in diplomacy, to go to North Carolina to view the goods proffered as consideration for the desired lands.[7] We have a glimpse of the chief and his party as they passed through the Moravian towns:

> Nov. 23, 1774. Two Indian men and a woman arrived today, accompanied by several white men.[8] They were going to Col. Henderson, who they say, has bought land from the Cherokees, some 300 miles square. The Indian chief, or king as they call him, is on his way to receive payment for the Cherokee nation; this nation is not at war, but is quiet and peaceful . . . The Indians wondered much at the organ, thinking it must be alive if it could make a sound like that; the organ had to be opened for them, for they had heard children inside, who sang . . . They say they are to receive 4000 pounds in goods—it can hardly be believed.[9]

The goods had been assembled at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville, North Carolina) and they met the approval of the Indian delegation—the squaw shrewdly examining the goods in the interest of the women o the tribe.[10]

Six wagons loaded with the consideration goods made their toilsome way westward with this party. "The Indians would scarcely let their leader, Col. Henderson, out of their sight. The whole province is stirred up over this purchase of the land by private individuals; indeed some say that it did not really belong to the Cherokees."[11] Significantly, the Moravian "Br. Bagge changed several gold pieces fo Col. Henderson."

Attakullakulla and Henderson had fixed upon the first day in March as the day for the Cherokees to meet the Carolinians in treaty and Sycamore Shoals-of-Watauga as the place. But as early as January eager Indians gathered at the rendezvous where the goods had been stored after the arrival of the transport wagons. By the latter part of February their number had swelled to hundreds; and, according to Felix Walker who was present, the treaty lasted about twenty days.[14] By many accounts, the number of Cherokees on the ground finally reached 1200, one-half warriors.

For the subsistence of such a horde, the Wataugans furnished food (largely beeves and corn-meal), crediting Henderson and his associates.[15] A God-send was this to the men isolated on the western waters; a market for their surplus products was brought to their doors.

The country-side practically emptied itself of men* with more than a sprinkling of women and children present to witness the scenes. It was not only the greatest event that transpired in their midst; it was the most colossal transaction in lands by individuals or a private corporation that America has ever seen. Nearly 20,000,000 acres were involved.[16]

Real negotiations began on March 14th, Henderson at the outset, questioning the Cherokees concerning their ownership of the lands for which his company had bargained. The chiefs went into council, as was their custom, and returning replied that they owned the lands. On the following day, the chiefs resorted to a bit of finesse: they offered to sell the region between the Sandy and Kentucky Rivers which Colonel John Donelson had bargained for and included within the line surveyed in 1771, acting as agent for Virginia, and for which that province had never paid the five hundred pounds promised.[17] Henderson refused to treat for those lands; he was not interested in lands claimed by Virginia, nor, indeed, in any small boundary "as he had a house full of goods for them"—the Indians—but would keep them unless negotiations should proceed upon the already agreed basis.[18]

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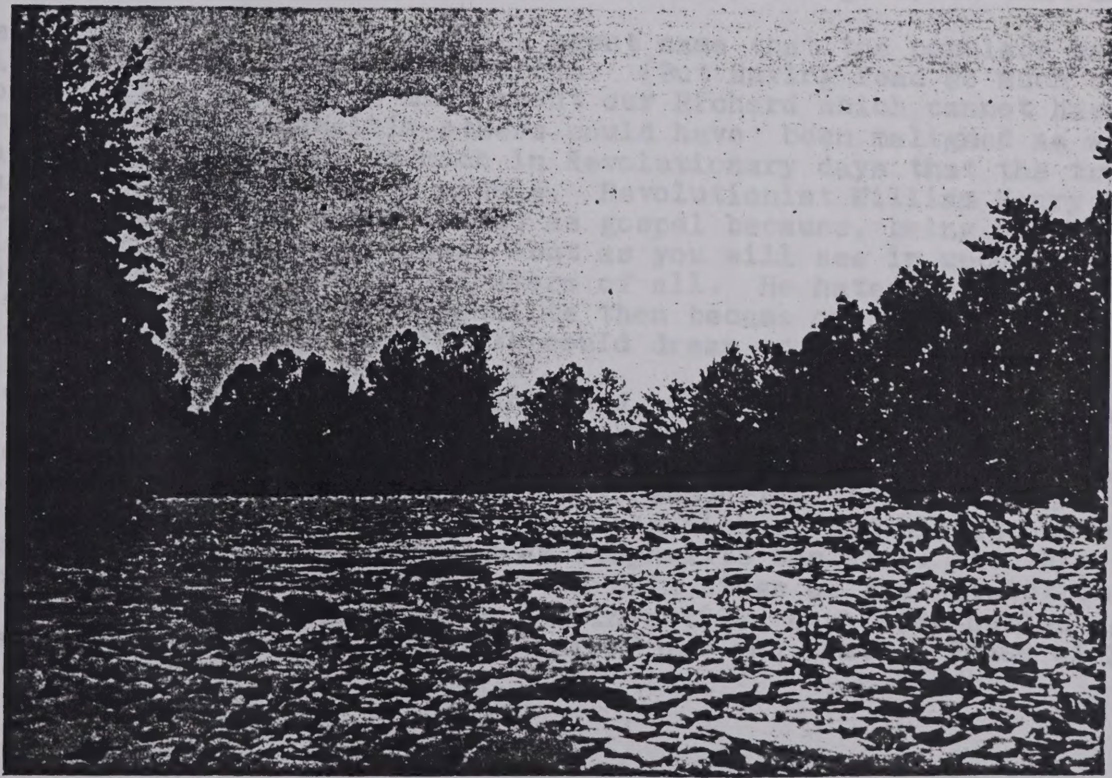
* Attendees included:

Luttrell, Thomas and Nathaniel Hart; other North Carolinians, Col. Martin Armstrong, Valentine Searcy, Tilman Dixon, Samuel Henderson, and Jesse Benton, the father of the Missouri statesman, Thomas Hart Benton, "Old Bullion." From the present county of Rutherford, North Carolina, there were: Capt. Wm. Twitty, Samuel Coburn, James Bridges, Thomas Johnson, John Hart, William Hicks, James Peeke, Felix Walker, and his father Col. John Walker. Of local notables, John Sevier, James Robertson, Charles Robertson, Isaac Shelby, John Courter, Wm. Clark, Wm. Clawson, Richard Calloway, William Blevins John Smith, Thomas Price, William Bailey Smith, Wm. and John Farrar, John Redd, Samuel Crawford, Jesse Dunham, Moses Crawford Zachary Isbell, Thomas Butler, Joseph Vann, interpreter, Jacob Brown Wm. Cocke, Thomas Houghton, Samuel Wilson, John Lowry, John Carter, Castleton Brooks, John Shelby, Richard Hogan and Matthew Decker. Among the Indian traders present were, Ellis Harlin or Harland, Isaac Thomas, Edward Rogers, Thomas Benn, Richard Pearis and Nathaniel Gist.



Sycamore Shoals, near Elizabethton, Tennessee, taken in September 1941 during a period of extreme drought.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN - CAUGHT IN THE JAWS OF WAR

Captain Pearis, sick of war, had no inclination to make it his career. Vigorously recruited by Governor Dinwiddie after the dreadful Drapers Meadows massacre of 1755 and urged to raise Indian troops, he had continued to serve as long as he felt vitally needed, for the sake of family and country. Now middleaged, he longed for a peaceful life as an upcountry gentleman, surrounded by Rhoda, his maturing children, and his Cherokees. Though some histories say he was ordered south to be closer to the Cherokees as an agent, and others that he went there to get land from them (both of which might be true) they overlook mentioning what may have been one of the most compelling of reasons--to be with his Cherokee son George in the Cherokee country. There is no doubt he loved his oldest son dearly, or he would not have named him George, for his own father. All three of the Pearis sons named their eldest son George.

Coming as they did in 1768, the family had not been there to experience depredations of the "banditi" which led to the Regulator movement, and thus were appalled by the amount of violence often wreaked by overzealous members of that group as they pursued suspected wrongdoers. However commendable their original purpose may have been, too many acts of rowdyism and oppression were commited in their name. Now peaceful people started complaining so loudly that even Charleston took notice, and sent special agents with broad powers to counteract the excesses. Unfortunately, it appears that the agents were not screened carefully enough, as some turned out to be unscrupulous manipulators who used their position for unsavory ends. At least, that was reported of one Joseph Coffel (also known as Scoville or Scofield) who was assigned the district lying between the Saluda and Broad Rivers, with instructions to break up the group in that area.

Feelings ran so high after this agent came that the populace was soon divided into two camps pro and con. (But having read so much contemporary material, and so much about our Richard which cannot have been true, it appears possible others could have been maligned as well.) Each side exaggerated so much in Revolutionary days that the truth must lie somewhere in the middle. Revolutionist William Henry Drayton's writings are still being quoted as gospel because, being on the winning side, he is considered a hero--but as you will see in upcoming pages he was one of the worst tricksters of all. He hated Coffel for being a Tory--being called a "Scophalite then became one of the worst perjoratives he and his cohorts could dream up.

Once the court system was established, Coffel was withdrawn because he was no longer needed, but the nickname stuck. You guessed it, Richard Pearis, eager for proper law and order and disliking the excessive violence of the Regulators, supported Coffel. When we get to that part of the story, you will see Richard and his second son, Captain Robert Pearis, labeled as Scophalite captains. As this chapter unfolds, quotations from parties on both sides of the Revolution will be presented. You will notice the invectives each side hurled against the other. As you read them, think of our own times. Those of you who

are old enough to remember wars of the 20th century will remember when Wartime propaganda machines taught us to hate "Japs" and "Kikes" and other horrendous characters. Then, lest anyone considers propaganda to be a late phenomenon, read "Of Plymouth Plantation" by Mayflower group Governor William Bradford, and notice how he exaggerates as he castigates even those in his own group whose actions he does not agree with. Poor misunderstood but heroic Isaac Allerton was hated clear out of the community! Write what is expected of you on history exams at school, but as you go through life question everything you read. This is my advice to my descendants. (And it is fine if you question what I write, too.)

The County history* says, "The best known of all pre-Revolutionary settlers in Greenville County was, of course, Richard Pearis who took up his residence on the site of present Greenville City between the years 1766 and 1768. Pearis was an Irishman of some education and pronounced ability...in commendation of his services in the (French & Indian) War, he was publicly thanked and given the post of agent for Southern Indians with headquarters at Fort Pitt. But after filling this position for a short time, he decided to move to South Carolina and take up his residence among the Cherokees, since his wife was a Cherokee woman... (underlining mine.)

"Pearis established his trading post and erected a corn mill near the present location of Camperdown mill, at what was then called, "Great Plains," and was soon engaged in a lucrative business with the Indians. His holdings of land were extended year by year in every direction, till at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, he is said to have claimed title to ten miles square....from Pearis comes the name of "Paris Mountain," which beautiful and pleasant summer resort of Greenvillians today was included within his holdings..."

Jacob Hite's plantation was situated on the NNE side of the Pearises, on a fertile plain near the Enoree River. Despite any misunderstandings, the two families remained on such cordial relations that a Hite son became engaged to a Pearis daughter. But on the area to the south in the beautiful Golden Grove area of present Greenville county, the land was used by a belligerent Scotsman by the name of Alexander Cameron who (though illegally by his own definition) grazed vast herds of cattle so close to the Pearis plantation that one wonders whether at times they encroached upon it. Cameron, also, had an Indian son through whom he claimed ownership, but was prevented by John Stuart, his employer, from establishing claim.

The dour Scotsman was infuriated that his rival, Richard Pearis, managed to stand on his rights and continue to occupy the land adjacent to his. After all, Richard had paid the Cherokees for it, something Cameron probably neglected to do. If perchance fights occasionally broke out between herders hired by the rival sides, the tension would increased even more, especially since Richard was also raising horses. Cameron's actual residence was at Lochaber (see page 152).

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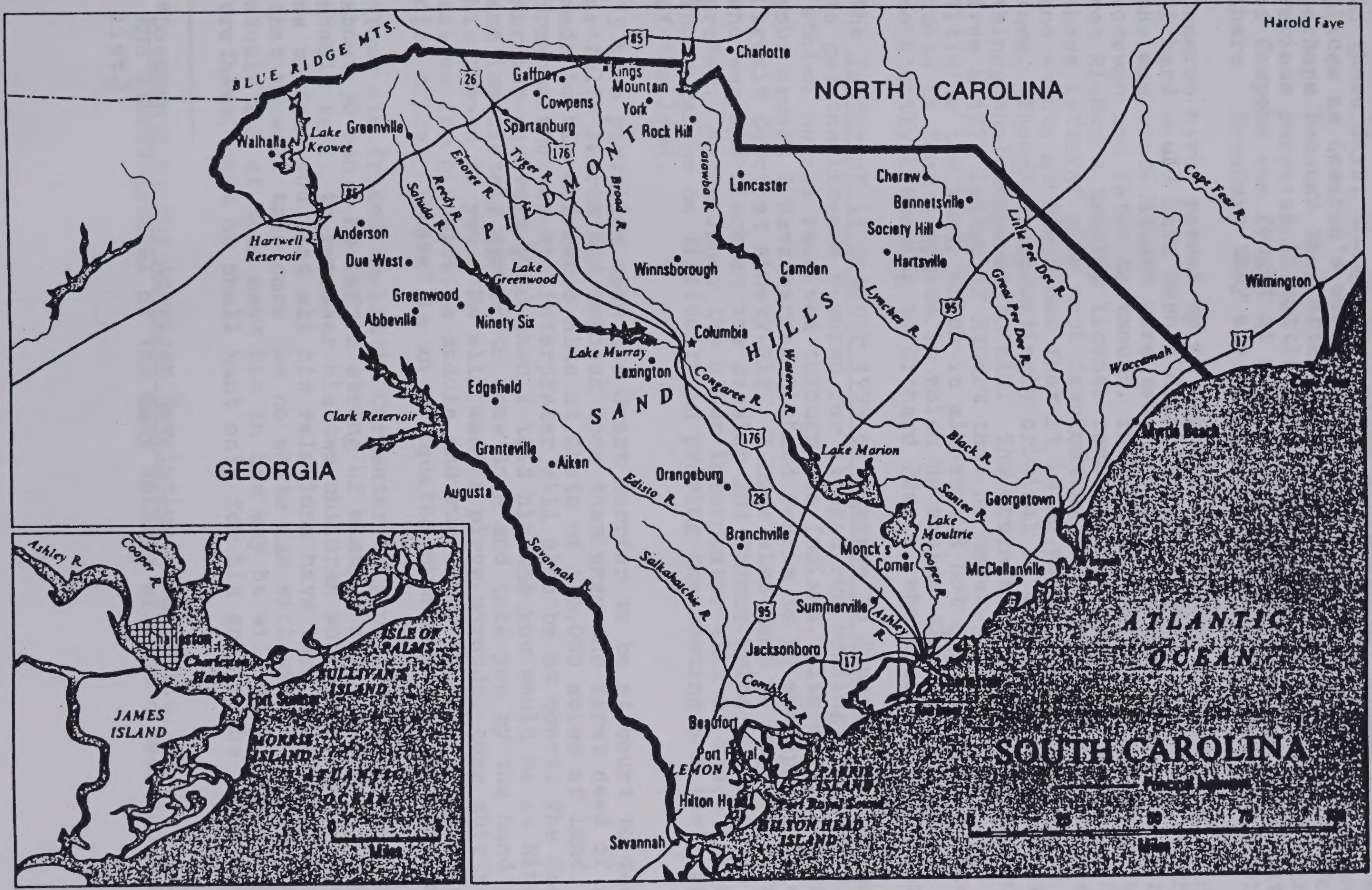
*History of Greenville County, South Carolina, James M. Richardson, (1980) pages 32-3

From: South Carolina, A Bicentennial History, by Louis B. Wright


Harold Faye
NORTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BLUE RIDGE MTS.
PIEDMONT
SAND HILLS
Charlotte
Kings Mountain
York
Rock Hill
Gaffney
Cowpens
Spartanburg
Greenville
Walhalla
Lake Keowee
Hartwell Reservoir
Anderson
Due West
Greenwood
Abbeville
Ninety Six
Lake Greenwood
Edgefield
Clark Reservoir
Graniteville
Aiken
Augusta
Winnsborough
Lancaster
Camden
Columbia
Lake Murray
Lexington
Orangeburg
Branchville
Cheraw
Bennettsville
Society Hill
Hartsville
Wilmington
Myrtle Beach
Georgetown
McClellanville
Lake Marion
Lake Moultrie
Monck's Corner
Summerville
Jacksonboro
Beaufort
Port Royal
LEMON I.
Hilton Head
Savannah
PARRIS ISLAND
Port Royal Sound
HILTON HEAD ISLAND
Catawba R.
Broad R.
Tyger R.
Enoree R.
Reedy R.
Saluda R.
Congaree R.
Wateree R.
Lynches R.
Little Pee Dee R.
Great Pee Dee R.
Cape Fear R.
Waccamaw
Black R.
Santee R.
Cooper R.
Ashley R.
Edisto R.
Salkehatchie R.
Savannah R.
Combahee R.
85
26
176
95
17
Miles
Ashley R.
Cooper R.
Charleston
Charleston Harbor
Fort Sumter
JAMES ISLAND
MORRIS ISLAND
SULLIVAN'S ISLAND
ISLE OF PALMS
ATLANTIC OCEAN

20th century map of South Carolina. The Pearis plantation was at what is now the city of Greenville, far upper left. The road which is now highway 85 was already there, also the one over the Blue Ridge Mountains, though the latter was more of a path through a gap.

In those days, though they might cover several square miles, such places as Cameron's were called by the strange name of "cowpens," perhaps because they often contained sections corralled off for various purposes in cattle care. The famous Revolutionary War Battle of Cowpens was fought at such a place about 50 miles northeast of there. Nowadays they are called ranches, and the herders cowboys,

Cameron never passed up an opportunity to try to get Pearis in trouble. Richard would have been a despicable person if even half of the stuff the man wrote Stuart were true, who then passed them on to Lord Hillsborough and later Dartmouth, in England. He tried unsuccessfully to get Richard's trading license revoked, get him evicted, etc. Some of those letters* give such fascinating insights into customs, people, and events of the times that it is no wonder historians often quote them. Though exasperatingly critical of our hero, we learn of many things that happened to him. The Greenville County history concludes from a 1775 letter of Stuart that he never, at any time, held legal title to the land, which is almost but not quite correct. Their quote is from a speech in which he scolds Cherokees, saying, "you are constantly listening to Richard Pearis, who cheats you of your lands."

The letter of 11 October 1773 of Cameron to Stuart in which he tries to get the license revoked for alleged rum selling and peddling of stolen horses received through the Indians, also says, "Agreeable to your orders I have warned Richard Pearis to be and appear at next Circuit Court at Ninety-Six. I have also sent to warn John Prince who was his clerk at the cession and Thomas Price who was his interpreter. James Jones the other interpreter will be there likewise. There can be no difficulty in proving the meeting and their purchasing of the land.

"I have prevailed upon the Great Warrior to be at court to declare how artfully Pearis had imposed upon them when the first deed of gift was made to him and Jacob Hite at Chote of 150,000 acres of land. Jamie Brakham who was his interpreter will also be at court. The Great Warrior was very glad when I told him that you would be at Ninety-Six and immediately agreed to come down and take you by the hand and open his breast to you. He will want a piece, strouds, some shirts, and calico for his wife, a saddle and rum, etc. (Note: In other words, a nice bribe! "Piece" is an antiquated word meaning "firearm" or gun.)

"Your old friend the Little Carpenter is gone to war with a party of about 30 men. He left a string of whampum for you that in case he should fall, to remember his two children which he left. He desired me to tell you that all his relations have been killed by the enemy, that he will take care that no white man will suffer by his party, but should any of them meet him in his way he will take care of them like brothers, that he shall hunt only for his enemy, the Yaughtinoos,

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*Documents of the American Revolution, K.G. Davis, Ed., Vol IX:232-3, and others-several of the many volumes will be cited, too many to list.)

"Kickapoos, Piankeshaws or Twightwees, that you'll be surprised to hear of his going to war at this time of life but the rogues would not let his people live, that he hoped you would approve of his endeavors to get satisfaction..." This last does not concern the Pearis family, but I wonder if it might indirectly concern Major (but now Colonel) Andrew Lewis and Dunmore's War, now heating up. That war was brought on by land speculators, Lewis being one of them. The tribes listed above are from north of the Ohio River.

Section of letter of 31 December 1773, John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth: "...The cause of Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite who had illegally obtained cessions of, and seated themselves upon, Indian lands beyond the established boundary line came on before the Circuit Court at Ninety-Six last month when judgment was given against them and they relinquished all claim or title to any lands beyond the boundary in virtue of any deed or conveyance to them from the Indians, which I hope will have a good effect by deterring others from any such attempts in the future. But I beg leave to observe to your lordship that this success is owing to the existence of a municipal law of this province; in provinces where no such local laws exist I should be very doubtful of success.

"The Great Warrior of Chote attended the circuit, but as I could not possibly attend there also, he came to Charleston to see me and we conversed together for several days. He is the supreme governor of his nation where his word is a law, which ascendancy is entirely owing to his personal bravery and other superior talents. He seemed much hurt that his nation should be suspected of joining in or encouraging any combination or confederacy against the white people..." He neglects to say that Ouconnastotah had come partly or mostly to collect the presents owed to him for testifying at the Ninety-Six Courthouse.

As we have seen, this was only a temporary setback to our Richard, determined as always to stand on his rights as he saw them. Stuart had played games with him by getting the acting attorney general Simpson to dredge up an obscure 1739 municipal law forbidding sales by Indians to a private white individual. But there was a loophole in the law he had not anticipated--it did not forbid transactions between Cherokees in Cherokee Territory. There is nothing in the records to prove or disprove the next point but, though popular with most of them, Richard was a well-to-do man, and it seems only reasonable to assume that he compensated them well for their trouble in re-granting the same land (the whole 150,000 acres) to their fellow Cherokee George Pearis, an adult. This having been accomplished, he had the land surveyed* and the following winter he persuaded Edward Rutledge to make out a title in George Pearis's name and record it at the Ninety-Six courthouse.

Records of most other land transactions in Indian territory have not survived. In all likelihood they were destroyed by the Revolution, though quite a few families lived there including that of Jacob Hite

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*Cameron to Stuart 23 February 1775

whose unfortunate witness, the Cherokee Saluy, died on the way home, had been unsuccessful in convincing Virginia Governor Botetourt of the validity or his purchase. Now George Pearis's territory presumably covered that land also and, it having cost Richard something to obtain, he was willing to do Hite a favor by letting him keep it on payment of a small fee.

But Hite was very set in his ways. Both men had paid the Indians at Chota and he was not about to pay again. Perhaps he thought Richard owed him something for getting him started in the trading business when he was a lad. As in his earlier quarrel with Colonel Adam Stephen, his mind was set. The situation certainly caused hurt feelings on the part of both families, though I wonder whether therift was as great as that Hite Family sketch by Cartmell (pages 141-2) would imply. It seems not to have been serious enough for the Pearis daughter and young Hite to cancel their engagement.* Some chroniclers say his name was Jacob O'Bannon Hite, but if his mother was a Madison (second wife) rather than Catherine O'Bannion, that does not seem so likely. It might have been plain Jacob, though. It is said that the young man was a law student, almost ready to apply for a law degree in Charleston, and a Patriot, as most wealthy Charlestonians were, and as also were his brothers in Virginia. The Hite plantation was near the Spartanburg road where it crosses the Enoree. The site is easy to locate on the map in this chapter.

Though Stuart had been only temporarily successful in his 1773 court battle with Pearis and Hite, he had, he thought, entirely prevailed against someone who turned out to be a much more dangerous adversary. A spoiled, rich Charleston official by thename of William Henry Drayton** had wished to lease fifteen square miles of the Catawba Indian reservation for a number of years. (To get a rough idea of where that was, look at this same map. The Catawba River was named for this tribe. They were in that area straddling the border in both colonies, and east of the Cherokees.)"Stuart opposed this lease because the land in this reservation had never been ceded to the King. In this he was upheld by the home government, and theEarl of Dartmouth wrote him on 5 May 1773: 'The King much approves thestep you took to defeat Mr. Drayton's intended views; the proposal made by that gentleman to the council of South Carolina was highly irregular and improper and the Council have given him solid testimony of their respect for and duty to the King in unanimously rejecting it.'"

All through the winter of 1773-4, parties were ranging the Kentucky regions making surveys even though they knew it would stir up anger of the Indians, for that land had not yet been ceded, even to Henderson, whose negotiations came later. Those speculators were simply trying to spy out the richest land for when the time came and they could be first to file.

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*History of Greenville County, page 43

**Federal Indian Relations 1774-1788, Walter H. Mohr (1933) page 13

Though wealthy tidewater planters had so many advantages, they considered that their exhalted position entitled them to ever more riches. As we have seen, they rationalized that the backcountry settlers, who by 1774 comprised 3/4 of the white population, was to be exploited to the advantage of the elite. Attorneys and court officials, wishing to extort legal fees as high as the traffic would bear, were chagrined when they were forced to allow a few courts to operate in the interior. So just imagine how angry they became when the Mother Country, in an effort to recoup some of the costs of defending the colonies during the French & Indian War, started imposing taxes. They grumbled over new export duties on rice and other byproducts, which now had to be routed through England instead of direct to natural markets; but the Stamp Tax seemed to them to be the last straw. All legal documents had to be served & recorded on purchased, specially-stamped paper which could be acquired only through agents of the Crown, whose sole occupation was collection of those fees. The anguished cry went out that their rights as English citizens was being violated. (The extorter was now being extorted!)

Charlestonians who had never been in the least concerned about rights of backsettlers in the rest of the colony, much less of dirty, uncivilized Indians, or of black slaves who were regarded simply as expendable property, now cried self-righteously about liberty. The brave patriots of theBoston environs now became their special heroes. Never mind that the New Englanders had different ideas about how to treat one's fellow man. Much-appreciated money and food was now sent to the relief of the oppressed patriots to the north, which was fine except that they should have been thinking of the needs of the people whom they, themselves, were oppressing nearer to home.

This is only skimming over a long and complicated subject, about which such a proliferation of easy-to-obtain books have been written that it is not considered necessary to delve into it deeply here, except to set the stage so that what is to follow will be easier to understand. Please do not get the idea from this, though, that your chronicler is not abundantly grateful that the Americans won the Revolution, for I am, and have other ancestors who fought on the winning side. What we need to understand is why so many decent and heroic people in South Carolina opted for King George III instead of the Whigs. The Revolution there was the bitterest and bloodiest in all of America, with neighbor against neighbor and brother against brother. People who had no appetite for war were coerced into choosing sides, and often went back and forth between sides, depending upon who was at the time prevailing.

William Henry Drayton, a young aristocratic court official who earlier had been contemptuous of the unwashed multitude, became a violent democrat opposed to all British authority. Perhaps the 1773 rejection of his rights to lease Catawba land was a factor in this. At any rate, when in 1774 Charlestonians, taking their cue from New England, began organizing opposition groups he was one of them. In January

1775, at the first Provincial Congress, Drayton headed their secret Committee of Five which, on the night of 21 April 1775 commited their first overt act of revolution, in seizing 1600 pounds of gunpowder, 800 guns, and 200 cutlasses, property of the government arsenal. This was an act of theft, of course, though they rationalized that they were in the right and anyone opposed to them was wrong. But when Drayton and his gang accuse their opponents of theft, keep this in mind. If they lied, it was clever to deceive the enemy; if the enemy lied it was a dastardly deed. Anyway, now that the Whigs (or Patriots as they called themselves) had stolen all the government arms, the ability of others to counteract them was severely limited from the beginning.

In 1775 news traveled slowly. It took months to deliver a message overseas and several more months to get a reply. The Province was temporarily without a Royal Governor when on 3 May 1775 a fallacious letter was received from Arthur Lee in London stating that the British were planning to raise an Indian war and Negro insurrection against the colonies.* This news and that from Lexington MA a few days later spurred vigorous action. On 1 June the Provincial Congress reconvened and immediately assumed extensive governmental powers in ordering 1500 special troops raised, issuance of a million pounds of paper currency, and a Council of Safety of almost unlimited executive authority. On 3 June an Association test was authorized, and all non-signers were to be dealt with according to "sound policy."

"The Association which pledged men to war against their sovereign and to treat non-signers as enemies was difficult enough for the conservative friends of liberty in the lowcountry to accept, but to a large segment of the backcountry it was completely unacceptable...active opposition flared up. The Germans of Orangeburg would not sign, but they were passive and would not fight for the other side, either, so were considered no threat. " A militant Scotch-Irish loyalist party was forming in the Ninety-Six-Camden district. Thomas Fletchall, the most important person between Broad & Saluda rivers owned plantations on Fair Forest Creek and environs totaling 1650 acres. He was a combined justice of the peace, coroner, and militia colonel (though not physically agile enough to actually engage in combat, being very corpulent and along in years). Therefore, the Committee made every effort to win him over. On the first week of July they sent him word to muster his regiment and secure the men's signatures to the Association. In compliance he assembled his regiment on 13 July. The paper was read to "every company" but not "one man offered to sign it." Instead they had Joseph Robinson draw up their own Counter-Association signed by men from "Savannah River to Broad River"--more specifically Fletchall's regiment of the upper Saluda, Col. Stark's lower on the forks of the Saluda, and Col. Savage's at Ninety-Six.

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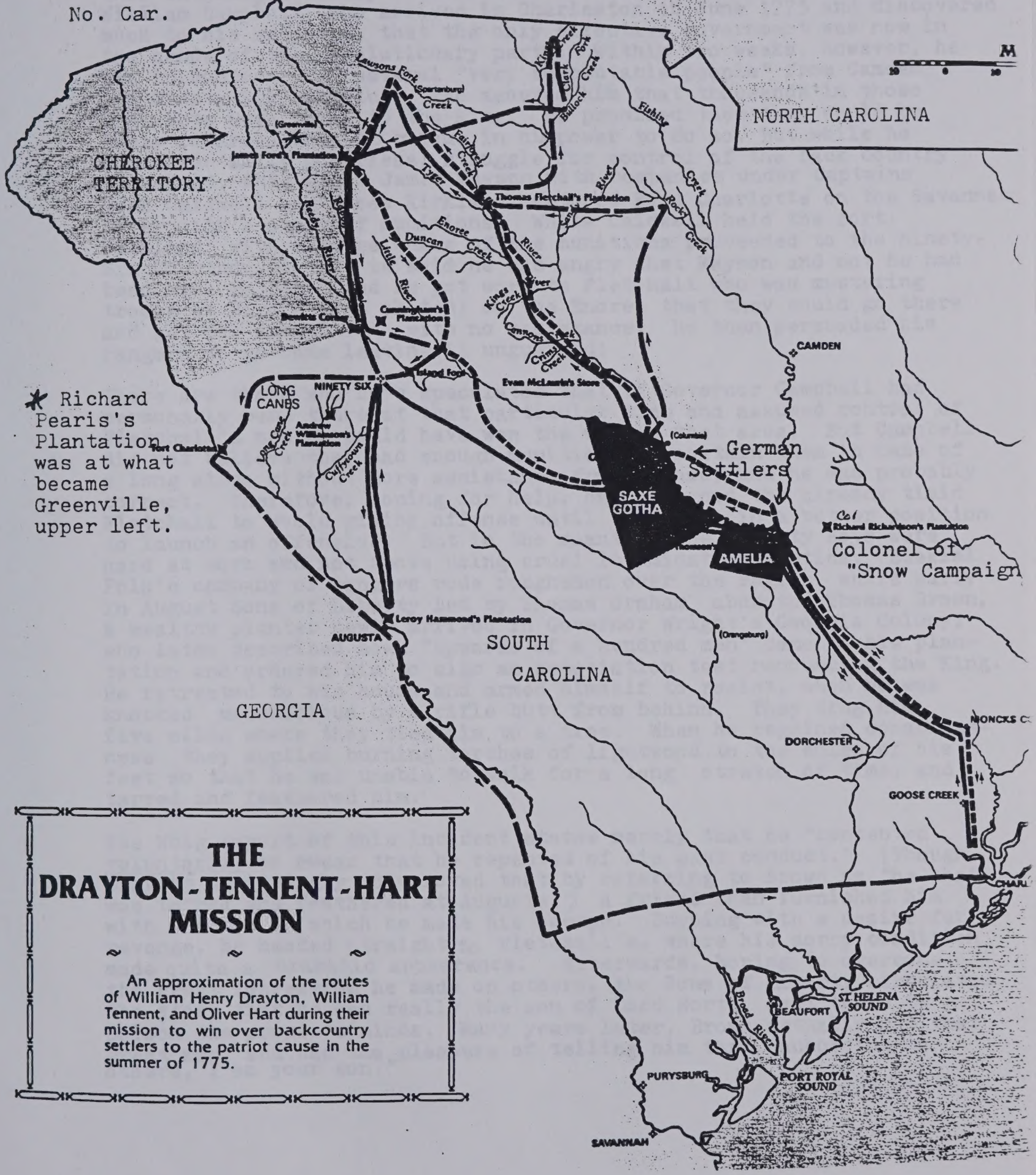
*Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry 1775-1776, by Gary D. Olson, printed in Vols 68 & 69, South Carolina Historical Magazine 68:203-5


No. Car.
NORTH CAROLINA
CHEROKEE TERRITORY
Lawsons Fork
(Spartanburg)
Creek
(Greenville)
James Ford's Plantation
Kings Creek
Clark Fork
Bullock Creek
Fishing
Fairforest Creek
Tyger
Thomas Fletchall's Plantation
Broad River
Rocky Creek
Reedy River
Saluda River
Little River
Duncan Creek
Enoree
Cunningham's Plantation
Boultts Camp
Kings Creek
Cannons Creek
Crims Creek
Island Ford
Evan McLaurin's Store
CAMDEN
LONG CANES
NINETY SIX
Andrew Williamson's Plantation
Long Cane Creek
Cuffeytown Creek
Fort Charlotte
(Columbia)
German Settlers
SAXE GOTHA
AMELIA
Col
Richard Richardson's Plantation
Colonel of "Snow Campaign
Leroy Hammond's Plantation
AUGUSTA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
(Orangeburg)
MONCKS C
DORCHESTER
GOOSE CREEK
CHAR
ST HELENA SOUND
BEAUFORT
Broad River
PORT ROYAL SOUND
PURYSBURG
SAVANNAH
M

* Richard Pearis's Plantation was at what became Greenville, upper left.

THE DRAYTON-TENNENT-HART MISSION

An approximation of the routes of William Henry Drayton, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart during their mission to win over backcountry settlers to the patriot cause in the summer of 1775.

This intelligence they communicated to the new royal governor, Lord William Campbell, who arrived in Charleston 18 June 1775 and discovered much to his surprise, that the only effective government was now in the hands of the revolutionary party. Within two weeks, however, he was in contact with several "very respectable people" from Camden and Ninety-Six Districts who assured him that thousands in those districts were loyal to the King. He promised them they would be amply rewarded when it became in his power to do so. But while he was essentially powerless, struggle for control of the back country increased. Whig Major James Mayson with companies under Captains John Caldwell and Moses Kirkland captured Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River with a store of munitions. While Caldwell held the fort, Kirkland with a large share of the munitions proceeded to the Ninety-Six Courthouse. It is said he was angry that Mayson and not he had been made Major, and he got word to Fletchall who was mustering troops at Ford's (see sketch) on the Enoree that they could go there and get the ammunition with no resistance. He then persuaded his rangers to go home leaving it unguarded!

There are those who have speculated that if Governor Campbell had personally come there at that particular time and assumed control of Fletchall's men he could have won the war in that area. But Campbell did not believe they had enough munitions to sustain them in case of a long siege without more assistance from abroad, and he was probably correct. Therefore, hoping for help, he cautioned the already timid Fletchall to avoid giving offense until they were in a better position to launch an offensive. But in the meantime the Liberty Boys were hard at work and not above using cruel intimidation tactics. Ezekiel Polk's company of rangers rode roughshod over the region while early in August Sons of Liberty led by Thomas Graham abducted Thomas Brown, a wealthy planter newly arrived in Governor Wright's Georgia Colony, who later described how "upwards of a hundred men" came to his plantation and ordered him to sign an association test renouncing the King. He retreated to his house and armed himself to resist, when he was knocked unconscious by a rifle butt from behind. They drug him five miles where they tied him to a tree. When he regained consciousness they applied burning torches of lightwood to the soles of his feet so that he was unable to walk for a long stretch of time, and tarred and feathered him.

The Whig report of this incident states merely that he "consented voluntarily to swear that he repented of his past conduct." (Though Drayton unwittingly disproved that by referring to Brown as "he that was tarred and feathered at Augusta.") A friend then furnished him with a horse on which he made his escape. Burning with a desire for revenge, he headed straight to Fletchall's, where his sorry condition made quite a dramatic appearance. Afterwards, hoping to overcome the great impression he made on others, the Sons of Liberty circulated the story that he was really the son of Lord North, sent there to poison the people's minds. Many years later, Brown actually met that great man, and had the pleasure of telling him that, "according to others, I am your son."

Realizing now that the recalcitrant backcountry must be won over by fair means or foul, Whig emissaries from the Charleston Council of Safety were sent there to "explain" to the people the "nature of the unhappy dispute" between Great Britain and the colonies. The commission was made up of William Henry Drayton, Joseph Kershaw, Colonel Richard Richardson (site of his plantation shown on sketch), and two Charleston clergymen, Presbyterian Rev. William Tennant and Baptist Rev. Oliver Hart. Drayton and Tennant were considered as charismatic, at least in their own environs. The talks commenced with mixed results at the Congarees, especially in the German settlements where no one attended until threatened. Under coercion, most signed but without conviction. At the next place the Germans were in attendance but refused to sign. Cutting off all suplies of merchandise to the local storekeeper, Evan McLaurin, had some effect on them.

At King's Creek on the Enoree, Drayton spoke with some apparent success until the arrival of Robert Cunningham and Thomas Brown. The latter read a message from Governor Campbell and after that no one would sign. When the committee sponsored an election for local delegates to the Provincial Congress, Brown, Cunningham, and Kirkland quashed the election. No matter how hard they harrangued, these men, considered so eloquent in their own element, made no impact on these people. Nobody would sign the association test. That evening at Fletchall's, Brown insulted Drayton to the point that he lost self-control. A duel was prevented only by Fletchall sending all of his guests to bed.*

Up to this point Richard Pearis had avoided all of these gatherings, not wanting to be drawn into conflict, though he began to realize that war was inevitable. He hoped not; but because he would not commit, both sides suspected he was against them and began a propaganda war. At the same time he was much feared because of his persuasiveness with the Indians. Of course his adversaries, Cameron and Stuart, being British agents, were on his Majesty's side so that he had a natural reluctance to team up with them, though he had no wish to rebel against the King unless to reduce harrassment. He wished to be with the Indians and stay where he was. He was not much impressed with Drayton and his bunch when they contacted him but decided to hear them out and, at their request, arrange that they might talk to the Cherokees.

It appears that, to obtain his cooperation, Drayton must have dangled the prospect of a special commission as Indian Agent as bait. One of the papers of the Council of Safety correspondence does contain the phrase, "If a commission is given to him (referring to Pearis) it must be a special one." Some writers have speculated that he desired the post George Galpin (McApline) received and others that it was different ones, and that Pearis, angry, then changed sides. Some or all of this may be true, but I can find no confirmation that he was offered a post at all, just that they were considering it should the occasion arise. Pearis had a way of attracting detractors! It was only natural for the Council of Safety to criticize him when he tricked them after taking the Indians to visit Drayton. The first version here is Cameron's report before Richard declared for the King.

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*The King's Ranger - Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier, by Edward J. Cashin (1989) page 31. (Univ.GA Press-Very informative!)

XCIX

Intelligence from Alexander Cameron[1]

8 November 1775 Enclosed in John Stuart's letter to Dartmouth, 8 January 1776, Vol. X, No. 778.

Intelligence contained in Mr Cameron's letter of 8th November. William Henry Drayton, accompanied by two Independent parsons, Hart and Tenant, made a tour through the interior and back parts of Carolina and Georgia, haranguing the people and exciting them to rebellion by enumerating a long list of pretended grievances and representing the Acts of Parliament respecting Boston as cruel, tyrannical and oppressive, by which means they seduced a great many people. Mr Drayton authorized Richard Pearis to give and receive talks from the Indians, to use his influence to get Mr Cameron killed or taken prisoner, in which he failed of success although he tried every means in his power to effect it, first by endeavouring to raise a sufficient body of men, and when he could not get a sufficient number he then offered a considerable reward to any single person who would shoot him from behind a bush, then mount his horse and escape into the settlements. Pearis was at the same time writing Mr Cameron privately to be on his guard against the designs of some of the frontier inhabitants upon his life.

Mr Drayton sent Pearis with a talk into the nation (of which I send a copy herewith [Vol. X, No. 778iii]) who delivered it to the Indians and prevailed upon Eccuy or the Good Warrior and three more Indians to go with him to visit Mr Drayton at the Congarees. These Cherokees were told by Mr Drayton that Mr Cameron was a very bad man and spoke with two tongues, that the white people were determined to drive him out of the Cherokee nation, and that if the Cherokees attempted to protect him they would involve themselves in a war by which the lives of their women and children would be exposed, and that for a person who could not now be of the least service to them whatever he might tell them to the contrary. Eccuy seemed to approve of what Mr Drayton said and promised not to protect Mr Cameron, but upon his return home, being severely reprimanded by the headmen for listening to Mr Drayton or Pearis's talks, denied that he had made any such promise.

Richard Pearis was to have delivered Mr Drayton's talk to the Indians on the 9th of October and the Indians met accordingly at Sugar Town to hear it; but as Pearis had been taken sick they were disappointed. But on the 10th his son, George Pearis, with one Dutarque, an officer, and a party of rangers, met the Indians. Mr Cameron took care to be present where Mr Edward Wilkinson was also. Eccuy first addressed the Indians, said he had been told by Mr Drayton that the Great King was going to make the white people pay much more for their goods than usual and that of course the Indians would be obliged to pay two pounds of leather for what formerly they could buy for one pound etc., but as Pearis was sick and could not attend he desired them to go over to his house where they would hear Mr Drayton's talk explained. Mr Cameron then reminded them of Mr Pearis's behaviour upon many occasions when by lies and forgeries he had imposed upon them and defrauded them of their land, in doing which he, Pearis, had not been singular as the same had been practiced by many of the frontier inhabitants, and had it not been for the line run and marked by order of the King they would not have had a foot of land left them at this day, and then they would have been obliged to serve as slaves; that they seemed to have

forgot how much trouble and expense it had cost their father the Superintendent to recover a part of their land of which they had been defrauded by the same Pearis, that lying rogue who now wanted to talk to them; that they could not suppose he would tell them truth as he never knew it; that the people by the waterside wanted them to take up the hatchet against their Great Father the King who had supported them time out of mind and would always do so while they behaved properly and listened to his talks. Upon which a chief named Keanitah made a manly speech, desired that they would pay no attention to Pearis, who was a rogue and a devil and could never speak truth. This he desired his son, George Pearis, tell him: that Scotchie (Mr Cameron) had been appointed by their father the Superintendent to take care of them, that he never had deceived them, that they would hold him fast and protect him notwithstanding the anger of the white people. He was seconded by another chief, upon which all the Indians went away and left Eccuy, young Pearis with the officer and his detachment, by themselves in the town house. Some Indians went a few days afterwards to Pearis's house in hopes of getting some ammunition which had been promised them, but they returned without any and much disappointed.

On the 12th September 4 Senecka Indians were fired upon about break of day near the Buffaloe Lick on the new ceded lands in Georgia. One of them was killed and two wounded; the 4th, who was not hurt, named The Raven, set up the war-hoop and the wounded men stood to their arms, upon which the white people ran off. This murther was perpetrated by three brothers named Cloud, for which they have since been committed to prison in Georgia. The Indians were much exasperated at this piece of treachery and were with difficulty restrained by their chiefs from taking immediate satisfaction of the traders, and Mr Cameron thinks they will not pass it over. What adds greatly to the discontent of the Cherokees is their being disappointed by the Carolinians who promised them 2000 pounds of gunpowder of what they had seized off of this place and at Georgia. The ammunition had actually been sent, but the escort was beaten and all of it taken away by Mr Richard Cuningham who is at the head of a party in support of government.

Colonel Fletchall of the militia, having put himself at the head of 1500 men, in August last declared for government. William Henry Drayton assembled about 2000 men at Ninety Six and sent a manifest to Fletchall's camp proposing an accommodation, which his want of ammunition induced him to accept of. But his assistant, Lieut.-Colonel Robert Cuningham, stood out and was followed by most of the men, but about the first of November he was surprised in his own house and made prisoner. His brother Richard went with a party to rescue his brother but took a wrong road, he missed his brother but took the ammunition abovementioned. The rebels are collecting all their force to attack Cuningham.

In October some of the principal Cherokee chiefs went to Augusta in Georgia to get a supply of ammunition. After staying there about two weeks they got about 600 lbs powder and ball in proportion, with which they returned. They all got sick of a fever which at that time raged in Georgia. One of our best friends, Skalalusky of Toqua, died much lamented by Mr Cameron. *Copy*. [C.O.5/77, fo. 81]

Greenville County History(pages 37 et seq) tells the story using Cameron's version just shown, so to get a balanced view of this and the following conflict we have to consider both this and the reports from others, including the Whigs. But before we do, let us consider who George Galpin was and whether Richard Pearis really thought he might receive the appointment the Revolutionary party awarded to him. I'm far from an expert and could easily be in error, but here is what I came up with. First off, it appears that Galpin was given the post prior to Drayton's initial contact with Pearis, and that he was far too powerful with the Creeks for anyone to even consider transferring his commission to anyone else.*

George Galpin, as he was called (actually McAlpine but nobody called him that) was one of the licensed trading partners who by 1741 were associated with Charles Town merchant Archibald McGillivray in a lucrative business long before Georgia was settled. Three of the partners, Irishmen John Rae and George Galpin and Scotsman Lachlan McGillivray, lived among the Creeks and took Creek wives. In 1750 South Carolina Gov. Glen called upon Galpin to counteract French influence and mend ongoing hostilities between Creeks and Cherokees.

Out of their trading houses in Augusta and Silver Bluff on the opposite (SC) side of the Savannah River, these three men monopolized over 3/4 of the trade with the Creeks and Chickasaws. They were well connected with Henry Laurens by 1755. Does it make sense to you that Richard Pearis had been offered, or would have expected, that man's position with the Creeks, not the Cherokees? That Drayton & Laurens would attempt to bribe Pearis with some position sounds logical, but the chroniclers seem to have overlooked the possibility that Richard simply did not trust Drayton once he became better acquainted. Perhaps he was really sick at the time the man spoke to the Cherokees; on the other hand, sending his son George Pearis in his place could have been because he was suspicious and wanted to avoid commitment. He also knew that Cameron would be there to create a diversion.

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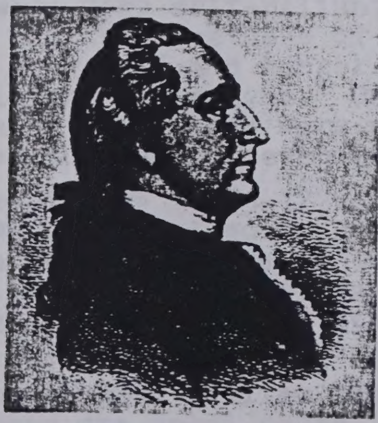
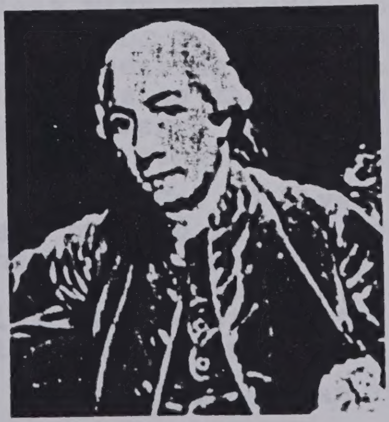
*John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier, J. Russell Snap (1996) pages 17-19


William Henry Drayton


Henry Laurens

It is believed that much of the bloodyness of the Revolution in South Carolina could have been prevented had not the moderate Henry Laurens been replaced as head of the Council by the radical Drayton.

A Journal of Coln. David Fanning's transactions During the late War in America, from the year 1775--Commencing 1ts of May until the peace *

Coln Thomas Fleachall of Fairforest ordered the Different Captains to call musters and present two papers for the inhabitants to sign(.) one was to see who was friends to the King and Government, and the other was to see who would Join the Rebellion (1) the first of may Capt James Lindley**of Rabirns Creek sent to me as I was a sergeant of the said Company to have his Company warned to meet at his house 15th of said month (.) I did accordingly and he presenting the two papers. There was 118 men signed in favor of theKing, who Declared To Defend the same at theRisk of Lives and Property in July 1775--there was several advertisements set up in Every part of the said District that there was a Very Good prispetearing minister to call at the Different Places to preach and Baptise Children.***

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*The Narrative of Col. David Fanning, by Lindley S. Butler (pp 20 et seq) David Fanning finished the journal of his wartime experiences on 24 June 1790 at his home on St. John's River, New Brunswick, Canada, where, as a Loyalist partisan in the Revolution, he was resettled by the British government. The narrative opens in May 1775 in back-country SC where, as a 20-year-old Indian trader with the Catawbas and possibly the Cherokees, he is faced with the awesome choice of loyalty to his king or armed rebellion and treason. He was born 1755 at Birch Swamp, Amelia Co. VA, where his grandfather, Bryan Fanning had settled. His father, David Sr., moved to present Wake Co. NC but drowned in Deep River before the boy was born, leaving him and his sister in the care of a young mother unable to cope with the struggle. They were bound out; he, though educated, had a cruel master from whom he escaped to Orange Co. NC, where taken in by the O'Deniell family and cured of scald head or tetter worm, an offensive scalp disease that left him bald. He afterwards wore a skullcap. It is said he was a superb horseman and tamer of wild horses. His efforts to regain his father's two plantations of 1100 acres in VA were not successful. At age 18 he moved to Joseph Keller's on Raeburn Creek of Reedy River in present Laurens Co. He was described as "a man of fine pysique," small but muscular, with sandy complexion and a wig, very self-reliant but reckless with "the astuteness of the Indian and the fleetness of Arab" and a strong constitution enabling him to bear toil and hunger. As a young trader he accumulated 20 horses, 6 cattle and two slaves. On one of his trips to the Indian region in 1775 his trade goods were pillaged by an alleged Whig militia band, and from that day a new-born Loyalist "swore vengence on all whigs."

**James Lindley (1755-1779) native of Chester Co. PA lived in Orange Co. NC. He settled on Reaburn's Creek by 1768 in what became 96, where he was justice of the peace and captain in the Upper Saluda Regt. (Lyndley's Fort) Was at siege of 96 & captured at Great Cane Brake. He remained an active Loyalist until capture at Kettle Creek GA14 Feb 1779, imprisoned in 96 jail where he was tried & hung in April.

***This was Rev. William Tennent, who used religion as an inducement to join the Rebel cause.

"But at the time appointed, instead of meeting a Minister, we all went to meet two Jews By name Silvedsor and Rapely (note: instead of Tennent who evidently did not show up, they were harrangued by Francis Salvador and Richard Andrews Rapley, two Whig planters living in the 96 Dist.) and after many speeches in favor of the Rebellion and usd all their endeavors to Delude the people away at last presented Revelution papers to see who would sign them(.) They were severely reprimanded by Henery Oneal* and many others (.) it Came so high that they had much adue to Get off with their Lives. the Rebels then found that we was fully Determined to oppose them. They Began to embody in the last of said month to Compell all to join them or to take away our arms: Our Officers Got word of their Intentions; I then Got orders From the Capt to warn the militia to assemble themselves, at Hugh Oneals mill which was done by Captains Companies and Continued for Several Days under arms. And then both parties was Determined on this Condicition That neither parties should intercept Each other (.) (note: this was a truce period, as will be explained in other versions, which was agreed to because the Loyalists did not at the time possess enough arms and munitions to do battle.) this truce continued for some time untill the Rebels had taken Thomas Brown who after that had the Honor to be Coln of the Ridgment of the East Florida Rangers in Augusta and Burnt his feet tard featherd and cut off His hair, and after that he got so he was able to Set on horse Back. he came to our poast and the Rebels then began to embody again. Coln Fletchall formed a large Camp and marched from the Liberty Springs to Mill Creek on our way towards Ninety Six. 12 miles from Ninety Six the Rebels found that they was not Strong Enough for us Sent an Express to Coln Fletchall--to come and treat with them which Said Fletchall Did but the terms of their treatment I Dont Know.** We was all Dismist untill further Orders (.) in a Short time After theRebels took Capt. Robert Cunningham*** and Carried him of to Charlestown (.) our party**** was then Informed of his being taken off in the night time and by makeing an Enquiery after him we got Information of a large Quantity of Ammonition that was there, on Its way to the Cherichee Nation for Capt Richard Pares

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*Henry O'Neal was an early Loyalist leader, with Patrick Cunningham when the Cherokee powder was seized. An order was issued for his arrest and he was in custody by Feb 1776 & with other Loyalist leaders excluded from pardon on 11 April 1776.

**The Treaty of Ninety Six 16 Sept 1775, negotiated by Thos. Fletchall and Drayton. By its terms both parties agreed to disband and remain neutral. The treaty effectively defused the Loyalist uprising.

***Robert Cunningham, b PA is on the 31 Oct 1771 list of absolved Regulators, at which time his address was 1000 acres on Island Ford of the Saluda. He was in the 96Dist. by 1766 (Much later a son and daughter of this man would marry children of Richard Pearis.) With his brother Patrick he was an active Loyalist and advised against any negotiations. He refused to abide by the treaty and on 23 Oct was arrested and jailed in Charleston, stayed there after release a year later, till the British, after capture of the city made him Brigadier general and he established a post at 96. At end of war he went to St. Augustine, then Nova Scotia, then in 1786 to Nassau, Bahamas where he died in 1813.

****Patrick Cunningham, who settled in 1769, was deputy surveyor. He tried to rescue Robert and then seized the Indian ammunition. His career parallels his brothers except that after the war he settled in East FLA; but he returned to SC in 1785, and eventually became a member of the legislature! He died in 1794.

who swore to these facts. (footnote says "The powder and lead seized by Patrick Cunningham's Loyalists on 3 Nov. 1775 had been granted to the Cherokees by the Whigs on the condition that they attack the Loyalist settlers. William Drayton ordered the militia to apprehend the King's mad people concerned in this daring act.") we then formed a Large Camp Coln Fletchall Being So Heavy he gave up the Command to Majr Joseph Robinson*

In the month of November 1775 the South Carolina Militia of which I was at that time Sergeant under the Command of Major Joseph Robinson laid Seige to a Fort erected by the Rebels at Ninety Six Commanded by Coln Mason (Mayson) which continued for the space of three Days and Three nights at the Expiration of which time the Rebels were forst to Surrender and give up the Fort and Artillery**

Major Robinson then Ordered the militia to the North Side of Saluda River and Dischargd them for Eighteen Days (.) afterwards Orders was Issued for every Capt to Collect their Respective Companies at Hendricks mill about 20 miles from Ninety Six (.) the Rebels having Received Intelligence of our Intended motions they Immediately marched before us and took possession of the Grounds which prevented our assembling ther

But about 300 of our men met at Little River and marched from thence to Reedy River and Encamped at thebig Cane Brake for Several Days--the Rebels being informed of our Situation marchd unexpectedly upon us and made prisoners of 130 of our men (.)*** the Remainder fled into the woods and continued there--with the Cherichee Indians until the 18th of January 1776--when I was made a prisoner by a party of Rebels commanded by a Capt John Burns, who after Detaining me four days and Repeatedly urging me to take the Oath of Allegiance to the United States Stript me of Everything and made me give Security for my future good Behavior by which means I got clear on 19 may 1776 hearing the Rebels had issued a Proclamation to all the friends of Government offering them pardon and protection provided they would Return to their Respective habitations & Remain neutral-------TO BE CONTINUED ON LATER PAGES------

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*Joseph Robinson had 400 acres on the Broad River, was a deputy surveyor & major in the Upper Saluda militia. After his successful siege of Ninety Six he was captured at Great Cane Brake 22 Dec 1775. After release he went to Pensacola, then St. Augustine where he was commissioned Lt. Col. of the SC Royalists in 1778. After the evacuation of Charleston he was in East FLA, Jamaica, and finally New Brunswick. Sometime after 1788 he moved to Prince Edward Island.

The TEST OATH taken at Major Joseph Robinson's camp in support of the King & royal government read, "I, (name) do swear that I will observe, obey and abide by all the laws of England which are of force in this his Majesty's province of South-Carolina, and all the Acts of the General Assembly of said province."

**The siege of Ninety-Six on 19-22 November 1775 was one of the few Loyalist victories. The Whigs had gathered there under Williamson and Mayson. More details and a sketch of the site will appear later.

***The battle of the Great Cane Brake on 22 Dec 1775 was a brief skirmish that ended the second Loyalist rising. The Whig militia commanded by Col. Richard Richardson and Lt. Col. William Thompson were reinforced by North Carolina militia under Col. William Polk and Lt. Col. Alexander Martin. Many Loyalists were taken prisoner--attacked by a huge force of 4000 men in the "Snow Campaign." Much more will be told later.

David Fanning's Journal certainly is exciting, but it covers so much in few words that much of the story is left out. As he admits, he did not know what was in treaties and the like. We have to consult other versions, including those of Richard Pearis's enemies, to get details--and even then there is much we cannot know. What seems to me to be proof that if Richard expected to receive any appointment from the Council of Safety, it could not have been that of Galpin, who according to the following must have been appointed in late July 1775, before Drayton contacted Pearis for any reason.

From Cameron, before 2 August 1775*

(He is trying to keep peace between Creeks and Cherokees as well as prevent any clashes with whites).."they seemed exasperated at the Virginians (as they call all the northward people) for stopping their ammunition and fighting against the King's people. They told me that if ammunition could be got soon things might remain quiet among them, but if they could not be supplied they could not answer for what their young people might do...But by some traders that arrived yesterday at this place I am informed that the ammunition is seized at Savannah; if so, God have mercy on them, for I am afraid it will be out of my power to save them. I am just now informed that the Carolina Committee have appointed George Galpin, Leroy Hammond, and David Zubly superintendents of Indian affairs among the Creeks, and three others for the Cherokees. ....Most of the traders except Gaulpin's are come up with goods but not a pound of powder with any of them....."
(Without ammunition the Indians would starve. They had long ago given up the bow and arrow and were dependant on the White man to live. Now the Council of Safety had raided the arsennal at Savannah.)

Col. William Thomson to The Honble Henry Laurens**

Sir Congarees, 6 September 1775 (now Columbia)

Since I wrote You from Camp Amelia 2d Instant I received Your Favor of the 31st Ultimo..You may depend that I will as soon as possible exert' myself in following Your Orders for raising Volunteer Companies..... follow Your own and The Honble Mr Drayton's Instructions ...and give such Orders with regard to the Post of Fort Charlotte & for the safety of our associated friends at Augusta , as I may think the most prudent at this alarming time...The re-appointment of Capt Ezekiel Polk, I hope will be attended with every good consequence...Yesterday about noon when the several Companies were getting ready to proceed on their march for the Ridge, We received an Express from Capt Parris informing us that a Captain Hendrik*** and several others belonging to Colo Fletchall's Regiment stopped him (torn) Cherokee Indians from coming down here, at about ten Miles distance (torn) this & hoped that we could come to their assistance. The Companies were immediately Ordered to go and rescue them and to take Hendrick & his associates Prisoners. I arrived there just before night and took Capt. Hendrick; but the others escaped soon after he was taken and before any of the Companies came up to the house they were sent in. I ordered the Prisoner, under a Guard, to the Camp where he now is in confinement. Capt Parris with the Indians

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*Documents of the American Revolution, Davis

**Papers of Henry Laurens, David L. Chestnut, Editor (1992) Vol 10 pages 371 and later. Volume 11 will also be quoted, see index

***Wm. Hendricks, Capt. in Major Patrick Cunningham's Loyalist Regt, Little River Militia, Ninety-Six Brigade in 1780

came along with us then. This Morning I had a Talk with these Indians and informed them that Mr. Drayton had desired me to conduct them to the Ridge, as he expected I could see them before he did; they said that they were tired a Marching & would rather remain here untill Mr. Drayton came to them. They gave me the Talk from the Nation and desired me to send it to him directly, which I have done....

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton*

Sir: Charles Town 15 September 1775

Moses Kirkland came into Charles Town on Monday late in the Evening & disguised, repaired immediately to the Governorat whose House he was accommodated with a Bed & from whence he embarked on Tuesday Morning in the Tamar's Boat & got safe on board that Man of War--these facts the General Committee were informed of on Wednesday--the Committee examined a young Man one Bailey Chaney who was said to have accompanied Kirkland & admidst heaps of shuffling & prevarication they collected enough to confirm not only their belief ofKirkland's being actually on board the Man of War but also that His Excellency held a correspondence with our Enemies of a very different nature from that which he had endeavored by various arts to represent to us as the true motive of his writing to Fletchal & others ofthat party,...(He goes on to excoriate Royal Governor Campbell for having the audacity to oppose them..after this they attacked the Man of War but)...Kirkland has eluded all your schemes, but we will not yet think him out of our Reach, tis possible we may still bring him to answer for his misdeeds--his companions Robinson, Brown & Cunningham's we hope will be taken or driven out of the Colony by you. (Kirkland sailed North to contact General Gage.

16th Septem. last night a packet arrived from Capt. Pearis who was at Congarees (note: modern Columbia) with four Cherokees who were waiting for you--Mr. Pearis laments your delay, represents the anxiety of the Indians & fears bad consequences will follow if they should return without seeing you or some person to Talk to them in your stead--this appears to be a matter of great moment & will require your immediate attention--we need not inform you of the contempt in which Indians hold the man who deceives them & they scarcely know the difference & never will make the distinction when their friendship is courted, between disappointment & deceipt--Cameron too will exult & repeat his slanders, we therefore recommend this business to your most serious attention.

last night also the Governor, who was on board the man of War sent Capt. Innes to demand at Fort Johnson--(who commanded thefort and by what authority the Americans took it over, etc, etc.)

Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton**

Sir: Charles Town 21 September 1775

We refer to our last dated the15th by your messenger from Ninety Six which we hope has reached you & that you are now on your way to meet those Indians who led by Capt. Pearis came from the Cherokees at your Command & who have in the utmost anxiety & impatience been many days waiting for you.--

We have Several Copies of interrupted Letters from the Superintendant at St. Augustine to his Agents in the Nation. they look so much like

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*South Carolina Historical Magazine Vol I, pp 281-3

**Ibid, pages 299-300

design to amuse us that we hold it unnecessary to trouble you with them but since you have entered upon that branch a Caution against every stratagem may not be unnecessary. Pearis applies for a Commission to the Good Warrior. if one is granted it must be special & you will be the best judge of the necessary terms. we have therefore referred him to you..... (underlining mine, not part of original)

Wm Hy Drayton to Henry Laurens*

Sir: Camp near Ninety Six

......I now hear that all Cunninghams Party are dispersed. I begun this letter in the morning & I am now writing by the light of light wood; and yet I have lost no time in proceeding with my letter. Tomorrow I shall discharge the Militia. Today I returned thearmy punlic thanks. They are really a fine body of Men.

I inclose a letter from Mr. Wilkinson. I mean to stay here with the Rangers some days to watch the consequences of the violence mentioned in that letter...in order to quiet the fears of the People above, but with orders not to advance any thing near theIndian line. I have not yet seen Paris & his Indians, but I expect to see them in a few days, after which I shall return to Charles Town...

Council of Safety to Saxe Gotha Committee

Gentlemen: Charles Town 24 October 1775

The affairs of this Colony must be reduced to a very precarious situation when the information of Mr. Lewis Dutarque & Ralph Humphreys is to Supercede the orders of those who are authorized & required to do everything which to them Shall Seem needful & expedient for the defence Security and protection of this Colony..........We desire you will do your endeavours to forward the Waggon with Safety & order the Waggoner to deliver the Letter directed to Mr. Wilkinson to Mr. Pearis as we Suppose Mr. Wilkinson will be gone from Keowee to attend his Duty at Salisbury. We have ordered an escort of Rangers to conduct the Waggon & request your assistance if needful.

(footnote says The Powder promised to the Cherokees by William Henry Drayton and voted by the Council of Safety October 4 was stopped at the Congarees by citizens who feared that the Council of Safety planned to employ the Indians against settlers who had not adhered to the patriot cause. Ralph Humphries and Lt. Lewis Dutarque of the 5th company of Rangers under Col. Wm. Thomson may have been influenced by Richard Pearis. Pearis had decided about this time to bolt from and discredit the patriot cause. He told the people of the Congarees that Drayton, acting as the agent of Charleston, would use the powder to disrupt the backcountry. It refers to Pearis's Affidavit 11 Nov. 1775, Kendall Collection.)

The footnote to the next item (shown on next page) accuses Richard Pearis of defecting because he did not receive Edward Wilkinson's appointment (not Galpin's)It says, "The notoriously dishonest Richard Pearis, jealous of Edward Wilkinson's appointment as an Indian commmissioner, apparently attempted to discredit him with the Council of Safety by questioning his loyalty to the American cause. On November 11, by which time he had joined the British, Pearis signed an affidavit in which he claimed that the Cherokees said "that Mr. Wilkinson was a Roague and Desir'd he Should be taken out of the Nation."

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*Laurens Papers 10:393, 500

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO RICHARD PEARIS

Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Sir_

We have received your Letter of the 15th. Inst & Shall give [*its*] contents full & proper consideration_ in the mean time we are Sorry to learn that the Ammunition Vizt 1000. ℔ Gun Powder & 1000 ℔ Lead intended for the Cherokees has been Stopped & detained at Congaree_ it is necessary that it Should be forwarded & properly distributed_ but as we have no hopes of meeting Mr. Wilkinson at Keowee, presuming that he will have been Set out upon his Journey to Salisbury before this can reach you, we desire that you will receive the ammunition, open Mr. Wilkinson's Letter & follow the Instructions given to him as if they had been directed immediately to your Self, & also in Mr. Wilkinsons absence take a Letter which we now direct to him_[1]

You Shall hear from us or from the Provincial Congress in due time relative to recalling Mr. Cameron, but we desire that you will not abate your vigilance to counteract his Schemes & projects_ We cannot forbear expressing our good opinion of Mr. Wilkinson & our hopes that upon further investigation you will find that you had mistaken his principles & his conduct_ We have no partiality for any Man but him who is a fast & Steady friend to American Liberty_ if Mr. Wilkinson Shall here after be found to be or to have been faulty, He Shall receive no countenance from us_ but we cannot condemn any Man unheard we hope you will either prove clearly that he has acted contrary to the Interest of America in order that ~~he~~ he may be properly, distinguished_ or that you will endeavour to colesce with him for common benefit_[2]

By order of the Council of Safety.

COUNCIL OF SAFETY TO EDWARD WILKINSON

Charles Town, October 24, 1775

Sir_

We are Sorry to find that from misapprehensions the Ammunition intended for the Cherokee Indians to be distributed by you has been detained at Congrees_ we have now ordered it to be Sent forward immediately but as we have no expectation of your having time to take upon you the distribution we have authorized Mr. Richard Pearis to transact that business & we desire you will deliver to him the Letter which we wrote to you by the Waggon in which the amunition is put & direct it to him for his Government in acting in your Stead_

We hope you will not fail to be at the meating of the Indian Commissioners at Salisbury on the 10th. Novemr. Mr. Galphin, will probably be delayed, two or three days_ from a necessity for *illegible* attending certain Creek Indians who are to be at his House about the latter end of this Month_[1]

By order of the Council of Safety_

From: Papers of Henry Laurens
10:502-3
next item below - 10-506

Council of Safety to Edward Wilkinson Charles Town October 29, 1775

We have just received and taken under consideration your letter of the twentieth instant, and we thank you for the intelligence contained in it. Mr. Pearis had some days before intimated to us what passed between Mr. Cameron & the Cherokees. We shall only observe to you, that when Mr. Cameron in his talk to the Indians "that but for the Care of the Great King &ca they could not have had a foot of land left to them by the white" Your silence was a Tacit Confirmation of a Short Change against us comprehending every thing that could or can be said to render us odious in the sight of the Indians......

(This goes on to command Wilkinson to discredit Cameron in the eyes of the Cherokees and says, "he has affoarded us too much reason to say we are sure that whenever thought proper by his Enployers to order the Cherokees to fall upon and murder our Frontier Inhabitants Man Woman & Children."

Following is a footnote from page 515, same source:--"Richard Pearis, in the presence of several Loyalists including Patrick Cunningham, offered his deposition before Justice of the Peace Evan McLaurin in Ninety Six District 11 Nov 1775. His primary purpose was to discredit the patriot cause and Drayton in particular. Much of Pearis's dissatisfaction seems to have stemmed from the fact that he had not been appointed an Indian Commissioner, as he claimed Drayton had promised. Accusing Drayton of attempting to use the powder sent to the Cherokees to obtain land for himself. He also repeated the rumor that Drayton intended employing the Indians against the white inhabitants on the frontier. The Council of Safety read it 30 Nov. and condemned it "as a false & malicious libel." Drayton answered the allegations in a 6 Dec. "address to the frontier settlements." Historians, of course, have taken their cue from Drayton, considered a hero because he was on the winning side.

This story could be drug out for volumes by relating all the incidents in the many sources cited so far, with many more to come. You can consult them if you like; but hopefully the quotations so far have served the purpose of giving the reader a sense of those times, and the way those on both sides of the conflict believed. There were complex and genuine differences in how people in the many factions viewed situations. So before we move on, just one more quotation by a noted author which expresses an important sentiment. For centuries it was considered unpatriotic to say anything good about those base and villainous Tories or anything bad about the noble patriots, but in the last half-century some historians have begun broadening their horizons to let a little light in on the subject.

Starting in 1959, Edward McCrady contradicted earlier thinking, with *
FIRST HE QUOTES RAMSAY--
"Though among the Tories in the lower parts of South Carolina there were gentlemen of honor, principle, and humanity, yet in the interior and frontier a great proportion of them constituted an ignorant, unprincipled banditti, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence were were familiar. Horse thieves and others whose crimes had exiled them from society, the same class who had given rise to the Regulators a few years before, attached themselves to parties of the British. Encouraged by their example and instigated by the love of plunder, they committed the most extensive depredations. Under cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the basest and most selfish purposes. They could scarcely ever be brought to the field of battle. They sometimes furnished the British army with intelligence and provisions, but on all other accounts their services were of very little importance."

THIS CHARACTERIZATION OF TORIES BY DOCTOR RAMSAY,
especially of those of theUp-Country, is doubtless generally correct; but there were some in the upper part of the State who were as honorable and high-minded men as any who stood out in the Low-Country--indeed if not as true men as any of those who espoused the other side.

"Nothing has ever been alleged as dishonorable of Robert or Patrick Cunningham or of Fletchall, Robinson, or Pearis. It is to be feared indeed that the first of these had stronger cause of complaint against the conduct of the Whigs to himself than he had ever afforded to them.

"Nor can we be blind to the fact that the British officers charged great atrocities upon the part of men calling themselves Whigs, charges which are, at least in some measure, sustained in the correspondence of our own officers. Colonel Wade Hampton writing, as we have seen, that after the army left the neighborhood of Friday's Ferry for the High Hills of Santee, almost every person who remained in the settlement after the army marched seems to have been combined in committing robberies the most base and inhuman that ever disgraced mankind; and another officer declaring that the practice of plunder continued to such a degree that the poor inhabitants trembled the moment a party of men appeared in sight."

Just think what it must have been like to be a South Carolinian during those terrible times. No wonder so many left the state as soon as they could when the war was over, including some of my other ancestors. Deprived of courts almost till the war, then that hell during it.

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*History of South Carolina in the Revolution, Edward McCrady, pp 548-9, quoting Revolution in South Carolina, by Ramsay Vol II:275-7

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*History of South Carolina in the Revolution, Edward McCrady, pp 548-9, quoting Revolution in South Carolina, by Ramsay Vol II:275-7

Next we quote Loyalists in the American Revolution, Gary D. Olson, So. Car. Hist. Mag. 68:213-7

After Kirkland had left the backcountry, Drayton led a force of militia across the Saluda River into Ninety-Six district and detached parties to seize prominent loyalists. Nine men were taken into custody, but Robert Cunningham managed to escape. Drayton nevertheless felt confident that in a few days he would be able to march into Fletchall's district of the Upper Saluda and easily disperse the opposition there "without blood spilt in battle."[34] Brown and Cunningham, however, had been more successful in raising men to oppose him than the patriot leader wanted to believe. Indeed he was soon forced to conclude that the loyalists numbered over 1,200 men while his own force barely totaled one thousand. Drayton decided to try deception in order to avoid bloodshed and perhaps defeat.

To play further on the fears of the loyalists, Drayton arranged to have a letter addressed to Colonel Richardson intercepted by his opponents. This fabricated letter directed Richardson to raise a force and to be prepared to attack the loyalist party from the rear. Also Colonel Thomas purportedly had been ordered to burn the houses of all non-associators who were absent from their homes. With this groundwork laid Drayton invited the loyalist leaders to come to his camp for negotiations.[36]

Brown and Cunningham refused to attend but allowed Fletchall "with some officers of inconsiderable consequences" and "as ignorant and illiterate as himself" to act as messengers. Brown demanded guarantees that the backcountry remain unmolested as a sanctury for loyalists as the only condition acceptable in a settlement with the whigs.[37]

On September 16, 1775, the treaty of Ninety-Six was signed between Drayton and the loyalist delegation led by Fletchall. The loyalists declared that their refusal to sign the Association reflected only a desire to live in peace, and they promised not to join or aid any British troops that might be sent to the provinces. They further agreed to allow any person who censured or opposed the proceedings of the Provincial Congress to be punished. In return the loyalists were promised that persons observing these provisions would be protected and allowed to remain at home. This protection was specifically withheld from those who refused to accept the agreement.[38]

To Brown, Cunningham, and many of their followers this treaty was a disgraceful surrender. Brown believed that Fletchall had been hoodwinked by Drayton's deployment of his troops into thinking that Drayton had the loyalist force at his mercy. He accused Fletchall of being drunk at the negotiations and of allowing Drayton to draw up the treaty without consulting anyone.[39] The treaty, however, was far more rational than Brown thought. First, it allowed both Drayton and Fletchall to avoid a battle which neither was sure he could win, and second, the terms of the treaty reflected the neutralist sentiments of Fletchall and many of the back settlers. Indeed, Governor Campbell had advised avoiding a conflict and preserving peace in the backcountry until assistance arrived.

Brown and Cunningham, on the other hand, perhaps saw Drayton's intentions more clearly than did Fletchall. They rightly believed that he intended to destroy any effective opposition in the backcountry

While Brown was in Charleston, significant events occurred in the backcountry. The treaty of Ninety-Six virtually ended Drayton's mission, but before returning to Charleston he took two steps which were to have an important bearing on future events. One was to hold a conference with some Cherokee chiefs who were brought down to the Congarees by Richard Pearis for the occasion.[42] The other was to draw from Robert Cunningham an open refusal to be bound by the recently concluded treaty. The wily Drayton accomplished the latter by a skillfully written letter which Cunningham unwisely but frankly answered. Cunningham declared he was not bound by a treaty which he considered "false and disgraceful from beginning to end."[43] In the last part of October he was seized by a party disguised as Indian traders acting on orders of the Council of Safety. Tried in Charleston on a charge of sedition, Cunningham was imprisoned in the town jail.[44]

This occasioned a second loyalist uprising. Patrick Cunningham raised a body of men to rescue his brother from the whigs. While he failed to effect this, he did succeed on November 3 in capturing a wagon loaded with a thousand pounds of gun powder which the Council of Safety was sending as a gift to the Cherokee Indians. The ammunition was valuable to the tories not merely for rifles, but for propaganda as well. The loyalist leaders now turned the tables on the patriots by using the fear of an Indian attack to rally the people of the backcountry around themselves. Richard Pearis, a newly turned loyalist, did much to aid this development. Pearis made affidavit that the Council of Safety was planning to use the Cherokee Indians against the loyalists, and, though this affidavit was entirely false, the gift of powder convinced many that the charges were true.

On November 4 Maj. Andrew Williamson in the Long Cane militia district, on learning the powder had been taken, immediately raised part of his militia regiment and marched to join the patriot irregulars of Ninety-Six. This force eventually numbered about 550 men and their avowed objective was to "retake that ammunition and bring those people to justice."[45] This was in reality a pretext, however, for even before Patrick Cunningham had raised his men and seized the powder in Ninety-Six district, Colonel Richardson with a force of patriot militia was taking local loyalists into custody in the fork between the Saluda and Broad rivers. This was a direct violation of the treaty of Ninety-Six.[46]

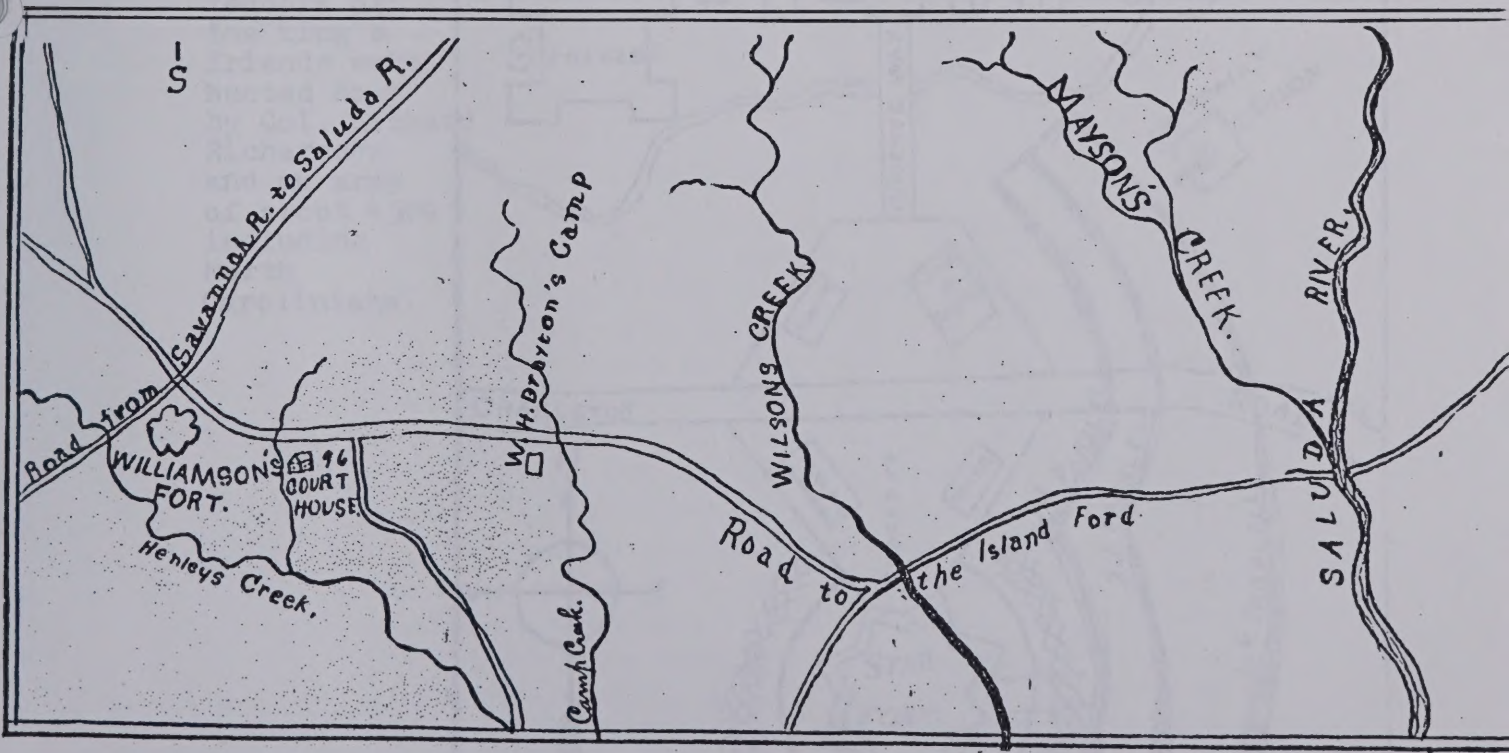
The force led by Williamson in pursuit of Patrick Cunningham and his group constituted the more immediate threat to the loyalists. Fletchall, conceding that the treaty had been broken by the whigs, but physically unable himself to lead, directed Maj. Joseph Robinson to raise the loyalist forces in opposition. Aided by the Indian scare created by the Pearis statement the loyalists quickly assembled about 2,000 men.[47] Commanded by Robinson with the assistance of Patrick Cunningham, Evan McLaurin, and Richard Pearis, this force on November 19 besieged Williamson and the whig militia at Ninety-Six. Three days later the belligerents agreed to terms: prisoners should be released, the fort destroyed, and the loyalists should retire to the other side of the Saluda River. During the twenty-day truce period the loyalists might submit their case to Governor Campbell, and the patriots theirs to the Council of Safety.[48]

This was the closest thing to a victory that the loyalists ever won in South Carolina. The only benefit they received, however, was that Williamson's men could not take the field for twenty days.

One must admit that Capture of Ninety Six Courthouse wasn't a great victory, but it was the only one this set of Loyalists would ever win on their own turf, so we will play it up a little with diagrams from J.B.O. Landrum and a quote from: South Carolina, a Bicentennial History, by Louis B. Wright, page 130.

"The first battle of the Revolution in which blood was shed in South Carolina occurred 19-21 November 1775 at Ninety Six, a strategic outpost in the Up Country nine miles south of the present city of Greenwood. Whigs and Tories were about evenly divided in the region, and tension between them was acute. Tories had captured a wagon train of ammunition being taken to the Cherokees as part of their hunting allowance on orders of the Council of Safety; this supply was deemed essential to keep the Indians at peace with the colonists. The Council of Safety ordered Major Andrew Williamson to recapture the gunpowder in possession of the Tories. Before Williamson could mobilize an adequate force, he learned that more than 1800 Tories under the command of Patrick Cunningham and Joseph Robinson were marching on Ninety Six.

"Only a small brick jail at Ninety Six was available for defense, and it would not serve for the 562 troopers whom Williamson had recruited. Consequently, he built a makeshift fortification across the creek from the jail in a field owned by John Savage. He had one advantage over the Tories: he had three small swivel guns which he mounted so as to sweep a wide area. For three days the two forces exchanged sporadic firing until finally, on the morning of Wednesday 22 November, both factions agreed to a truce and the fighting ended. One Whig lay dead. The Tories admitted to one man dead, but the Whigs claimed several more. Thus ended the first bloodshed by South Carolinians in a war that would increase in bitterness as the years went on."



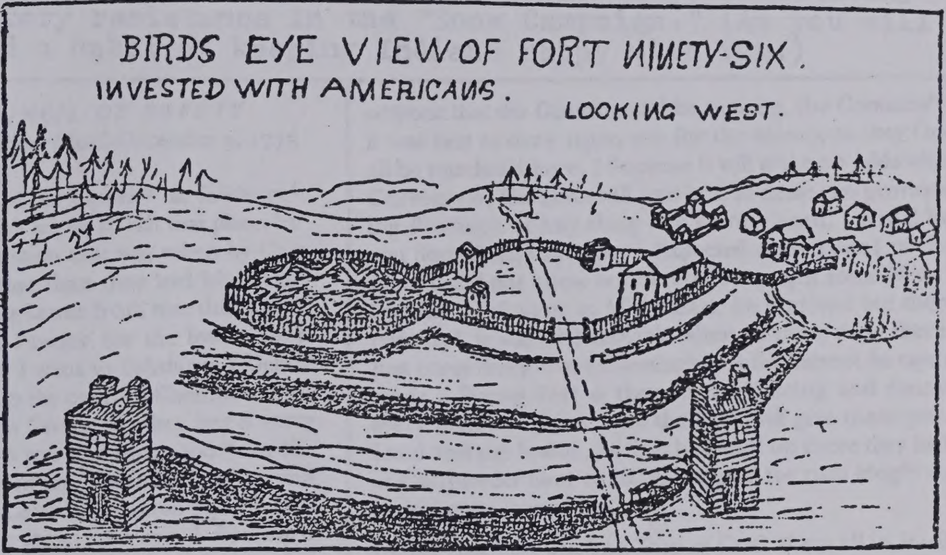
"Map of 96 Court House and surrounding country showing roads, stream &c, together with Williamson's Fort. This map is copied from one found in Drayton's Memoirs." - J.B. O. Landrum

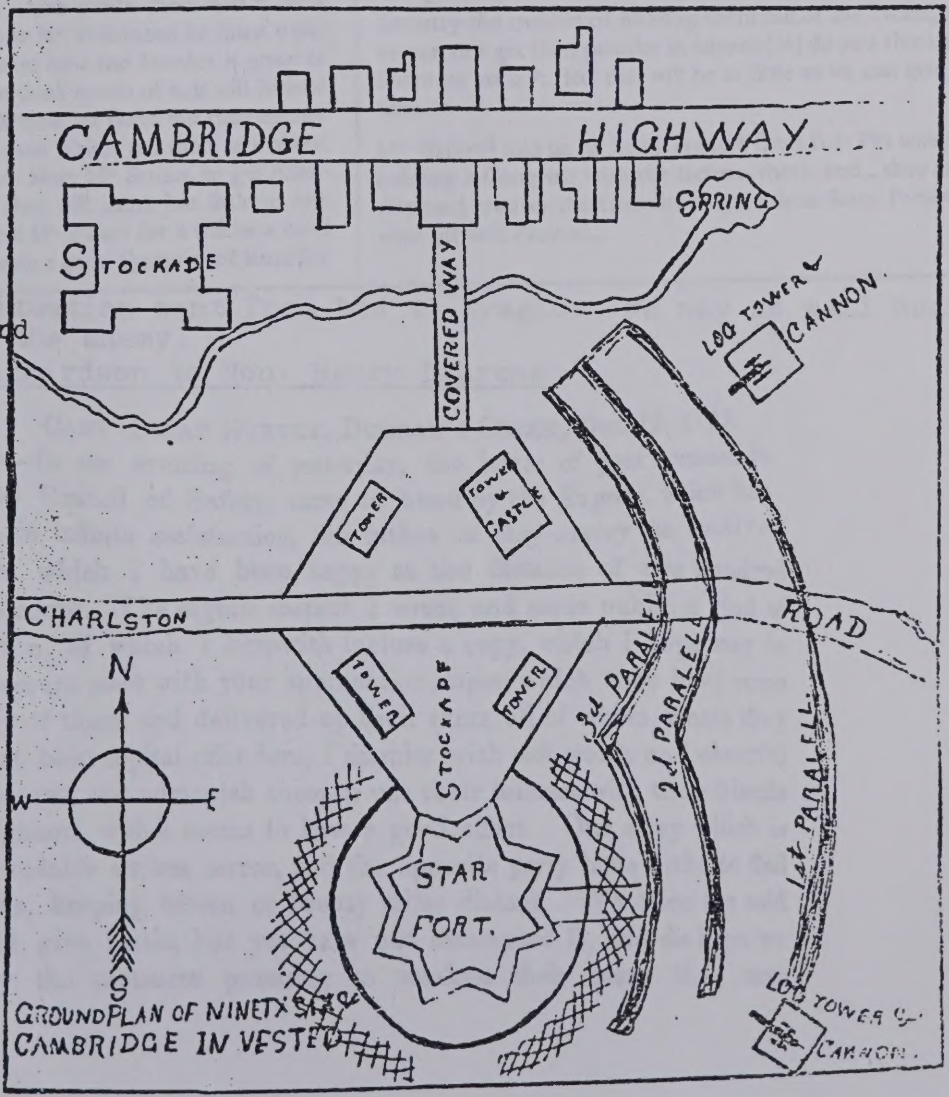
Sketches of Fort Ninety-Six as shown in Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina by J.B.O. Landrum (1897)

The signers of the treaty of peace on 22 Nov. 1775 for the Council of Safety were Andrew Williamson, James Mayson, Andrew Pickens and John Bowie.

The signers for the governor and king were Joseph Robinson, Patrick Cunningham, and Richard Pearis.

Despite the terms of the treaty, the leaders of the king's friends were hunted down by Col. Richard Richardson and an army of about 4500 including North Carolinians.


BIRDS EYE VIEW OF FORT NINETY-SIX.
INVESTED WITH AMERICANS.
LOOKING WEST.


CAMBRIDGE
HIGHWAY
STOCKADE
SPRING
COVERED WAY
LOG TOWER & CANNON.
TOWER
TOWER & CASTLE
CHARLSTON
ROAD
N
W
E
S
TOWER
STOCKADE
TOWER
3d PARALELL
2d PARALELL
1st PARALELL
STAR FORT.
LOG TOWER & CANNON.
GROUNDPLAN OF NINETY SIX
CAMBRIDGE INVESTED

The following reflects that news must not have spread rapidly, but on the other hand while Galpin was in Salisbury NC, he or something else got the Patriots stirred up. A great host of them would soon show up to assist SC Col Richardson who, with a 4000 man army, effectively swept away all Tory resistance in the "Snow Campaign." (As you will note, Galpin had a habit of keeping Indians happy with rum.)

GEORGE GALPHIN TO COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Silver Bluff, December 9, 1775

Gentlemen

Inclosed is the Proceedings of the Comm$^{rs:}$ at Salisbury,[1] only M$^{r.}$ Wilkinson did not arive there 'till we all left that place, he was detain'd on Acc$^{t.}$ of the Ammunition that was taken by Cuningham's Party, we Expected no tother than they had him at the ✓ Camp as well as M$^{r.}$ Parise_ (I Rec$^{d.}$ a Letter from him this day), if it was Possible to Send him Some Powder for the lower Town Cherokees, as they got none before I went to Salisbury, I Deliv$^{d.}$ 500 ℔ of Powder and as much Ball to the overhill Cherokees Sent them by the Council of Safety from Savannah, they beg'd verry hard for 500 ℔ more and as I heard you had sent 1000 ℔ for the Lower Towns I wrote to Savannah to the Council of Safety and they Sent it up, 400 ℔ is gone to the Lower Cherokees, 250 ℔ is now gone to M$^{r.}$ Wilkinson, 150 ℔ went some time ago. I Borrowed 100 ℔ for the Overhill Cherokees which made them 600 ℔_ & I pay'd it out of the last 500 ℔_ I wrote M$^{r.}$ Wilkinson he must write the overhill Indians to acquaint them how the Powder is gone as they are all one people they cannot think much of it, it will Satisfie them now, it will be Suficient to kill meat for them but they cannot make any hunts with it, M$^{r.}$ Wilkinson Writes me there are about 40 Cherokees gone to Augustine to Meet M$^{r.}$ Stuart, to get Amunition and presents, I am afraid they will think but little of our presents, they will get so much from M$^{r.}$ Stuart for it will be a hard matter to get goods, We must provide a good Quantity of Rum for without that the Goods wou'd be nothing, the Commiss$^{rs.}$ thought it was best to draw upon you for the Money, as they Goods must all be purchas'd here, I Suppose it will make no odds with you, the Currency of Carolina will pass best in those two provinces in buying Provision or any thing else we may want, I wou'd have wrote you Som[*e*] days ago, but I Expected ~~some~~ ↑one↓ of the Traders in, and did not know but he wou'd brought some News from the Indians th[*at*] went to M$^{r.}$[2] Stuart, he is arived but there is none returned, it was all Peaceable when he came away there is a man Just come down from Cunningham's Settlement he says they have made a Strong Fort & they are a Fiddleing and dancing & tells every man that Joins them the King will give them 500. Acres of Land and pay beside, he Says he heard up there they had 4 Hog$^{ds.}$ of Gunpowder Sent them and it pas'd for rum Hog$^{ds.}$ & that they have a great many Men_

I hope that Fort will be a Trap to Catch them all in, it will save the Country the trouble of hunting them out of the Swamps_ In case we can not get Gun powder in Savann[*ah*] do you think you cou'd Spare us 2000 ℔_ for that will be as little as we can give both Nations_

M$^{r.}$ Walker[3] told us he had Just came from Fort Pitt whe[*re*] he was holding a Congress with the Indians there, and_ they are all well disposed towards the Colonies he gave them Some Presents & they went off well Pleased_

After that the situation went from bad to tragic. We may as well hear it from the pen of the enemy.

Col. Richard Richardson to Hon. Henry Laurens

CAMP GREAT SURVEY, DUNCAN'S CREEK, Dec. 12, 1775.

SIR:—In the evening of yesterday, the honor of your commands from the Council of Safety, came to hand by the Express, which has given me infinite satisfaction, the rather as they convey the lenitive measures, which I have been happy at the distance of two hundred miles to adopt. The eighth instant I wrote and made public a kind of declaration, of which I herewith inclose a copy, which I hope may in some measure meet with your approbation, upon which they have come in, many of them, and delivered up their arms, all of whom, where they have not been capital offenders, I dismiss with soft words and cheerful countenances, and admonish them to use their interest with their friends and neighbors, which seems to have a good effect. Our army which is now formidable strikes terror, and the opposite party have hitherto fled before us, keeping fifteen or twenty miles distant. We often are told they will give battle, but yet have not attempted it, and do hope we shall by the measures pursuing so weaken their party that most

will abandon them, and they will not be able to make head with any great body, and the salutary measures prove the best conquest. Should their behavior be otherwise we shall deal with them accordingly. We have several prisoners, amongst whom are Col. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Shuburg, and several others of the first magnitude. By the capture of Col. Fletchall (who was hid in a cave, and taken by Col. Thomson and rangers, and the volunteer companies who were sent out on that and some other service) papers have fallen into my hands which the Council of Safety will be glad to see, but which I cannot venture to send by this conveyance; but shall transmit by the officer of the guard, with the prisoners, which I intend to dispatch to-morrow. Our army is about three thousand of different corps, viz: my own regiment, Col. Thomson's, and volunteer light horse. Col. Thomas, Col. Neel, Col. Polk and Lieut. Col. Martin of the North Carolina regiment, upon the continental establishment, who voluntarily stepped out on this occasion, as did Col. Thos. Polk, and say if you have occasion for their services, they are ready to go to Charlestown when called upon. I conceive when we are all in conjunction we shall muster between four and five thousand men and hope we may be at liberty to afford you any aid you may have occasion for. It will take time to settle this disturbed part in peace, which is now quite disjointed. When I write you again, which shall be as often as distance and circumstances will admit, the omission of which for the time past craves your indulgence as I have been marching from place to place, &c., and waiting the return of express, has occasioned that remissness. Draughts on Congress and new Council of Safety have been received for larger sums, which we have been obliged to draw, paying the lesser sums and husbanding it in the best manner to keep our credit good. If a small supply could come safe, it would be acceptable, but just now I don't think of a proper channel. The article power is well considered, and I shall know where to send if we want the additional numbers, I have made each portion small—but possibly may do. This minute, while I am writing, Capts. Plumer and Smith with thirty men surrender themselves and arms. All as yet goes on well, and hope, by Divine assistance, the Company may answer every good intention (if the inclemency of the season does not impede us), as our troops are illy provided, but well fed. The more minute circumstances you will suffer me to omit.

And believe me to be the servant of my country,
and the honor of being, sir,
your obedient humble servant,
RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

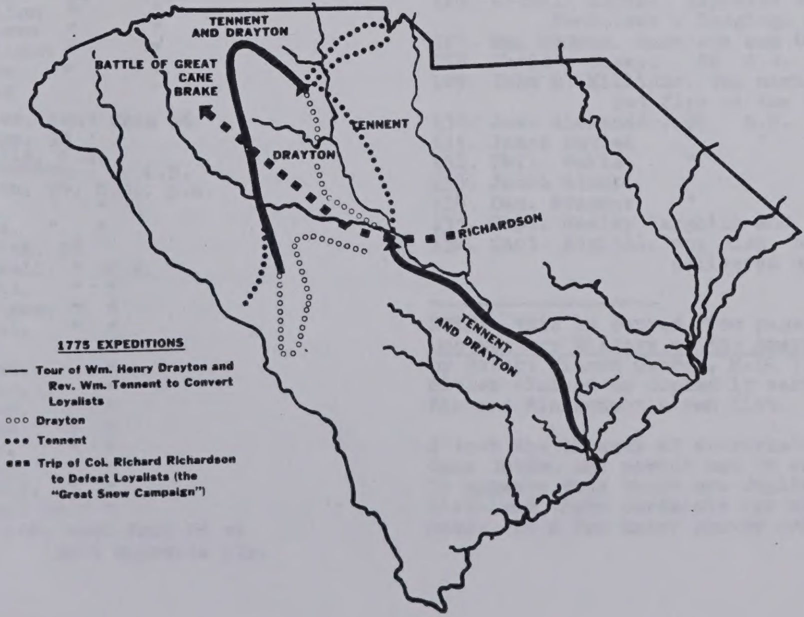
Letter of Colonel Richard Richardson to Henry Laurens, Esq., President of the Council

CAMP LIBERTY HILL, Dec. 16th, 1775.

SIR :—I herewith send you the persons of Col. Thos. Fletchall, Capt. Richard Pearis, Capt. Jacob Fry, Capt. George Shuburg, John McWilliams, Philip Wells, James Davis, Capt. McDavid, alias McDade, and Joseph Alexander. These being all adjudged by the officers and people here to be offenders of such a nature that from the active part they have taken, it would be dangerous for me (however innocent they may appear before you) to let either of them go; they are under guard of my son, who, from his camp dishabille, will appear before you. I have nothing particular since my last. These unhappy people are in a great panic, still flying before us, and it is told that young Pearis and others have gone to bring the Indians down, in person; if it should be the case, it could not be in a better time, and if any such intentions, should be glad the whole would come while we are here. I shall use every measure in my power that appears to be salutary, but some things distress me much that I want advice upon, and for which I shall write you by express which may be down before this. Had I no fears for Charles Town, we could command every thing here. Though Cunningham, Robertson, and others, of the first class are fled, they may yet come in our way; should they, you will soon be acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. Excuse paper, it being now very scarce.


TENNENT AND DRAYTON
BATTLE OF GREAT CANE BRAKE
TENNENT
DRAYTON
RICHARDSON
TENNENT AND DRAYTON
1775 EXPEDITIONS
— Tour of Wm. Henry Drayton and Rev. Wm. Tennent to Convert Loyalists
○○○ Drayton
●●● Tennent
■■■ Trip of Col. Richard Richardson to Defeat Loyalists (the "Great Snow Campaign")

Colonel Richard Richardson's List of Prisoners sent to Charles Town

1. Col. Fletchall
2. Capt John Mayfield, Ninety-Six
3. Capt. Benj. Wofford
✓ 4. R'd Pearis, Scophalite Captain Ninety-Six
5. Capt Math. Floyd, Militia
6. Capt. George Day "
7. Capt. Pat. MdDade
8. Capt. Wm. Hunt, Scophalite, Mulatto, Ninety-Six
9. Capt Geo. Zuber, 96, said to murder a Prisoner
10. " Jacob Fry, Scophalite, 96
11. " Wm. Jones " colored " 96 Cane Brake, powder man
✓ 12. Capt Robt. Pearis-Scophalite Adjutant, Cane Brake, 96
13 " Bowman, 96 Cane Brake, powder man, militia
14 " Harvey - same
15 " Clery Scophalite, 96
16." Lindley 96 Cane Brake, militia
17." York, 96, C.B. powder man mil.
18. D'd. Cunningham, deemed a bad man by both parties, to be be delivered by Maj. Williamson
? ✓ 19. Geo. Nealey, Commisary Gen., 96 C.B., powder man
20. Thomas Combs, C.B., powder man
21. Thomas Tomlin " "
22. Jeremiah Ward, " 96 " very bad man
23. Capt. Henry Green, 96 C.B. p.m. mil.
24. Capt. Sam. Proctor, " " "
25. John Norris, " "
26. Benj. Stone, 96 " "
27. John Davies, " "
28. Dav'd Reese " "
29. Thomas Carter " "
30. James Derumple " "
31. James McGill " "
32. Wm. Johnston " "
33. Thomas Wisdom.Lt mil. " " extreme active man
34. Abra'm Nabors, C.B. powder man
35. Isaac Nabors, " "
36. Geo. Carter, " "
37. Thos. Gill, " "
38. Wm. Stone, 96 " "
39. Rob't Proctor,96 " " very bad man
40. Caleb Stone, " " "
41. James Carter, " "
42. Rob't Grey, " "
43. Capt. Jno. Hilburn, an active man
44. Elisha Watson, C.B.
45. John Helms, 96 C.B.
46. Thomas Allen " "
47. Wm. Matthews " "
48. Dav'd Allison " "
49. Wm. Alison " "
50. Rob't Wood "
51. John Miller, sent from 96
52. Henry Strum, 96
53. Tho. Neville, C.B.
54. Christ'r Reuben, C.B.
55. Robin Brown, 96, C.B., p.m.
56. John Reid, " "
57. James Reid, " "
58. Adam Frelick, 96
59. Fred. Bagwell, " C.B.
60. John Wright, " "
61. James Johnson, " "
62. James Camel, " "
63. Wm. Cox, "
64. Fred Reuben, "
65. Thomas Good, "
66. Moses Casey, " "
67. Adam Purdue " "
68. John Casey, " "
69. Jesse Casey, "
70. John Rigdell, " "
71. John Rigdell Jr." "
72. Edmund Miller, went from 96 to join opposite pty.
73. Henry Attolph, 96, C.B. Lt. Major
74. John Meek, " "
75. James Mills, " "
76. Francis Regin, " "
77. Wm. Burrows, " "
78. Benj. Stone
79. Joshua Niblet. " "
80. Joshua Fowler " "
81. Rich'd Fowler " "
82. Sam Harris " "
83. John Goff. " "
84. Rob't Westmorland" "
85. Tho. Welch " "
86. Holl'y Power " " (name sic?)
87. Hugh Abernathy " "
88. Dav'd Reese, ment. above
89. Jacob Wittherow, 96, C.B.
90. John Wittherow " "
91. Chris. Tonges "
92. John Burrows " "
93. Hen. Center fitts, " (name sic?)
94. Wm. Mills "
95. Henry Citeman, a very bad man
96. Wm. Caldwell, 96, C.B.
97. And. Aventer " "
98. Abel Boeling " "
99. Owen Reid "
100. Dennis McCarty, " p.m.
101. Tho. Rogers "
102. Harmon Dildine "
103. Isaac Evans, mentioned
104. Benj. Gregory 96, C.B.
105. Jos. Turner " "
106. James Nicholl "
107. Edw'd Lang " "
108. James Wright " "
109. John Evans "
110. John Welch " "
111. Wm. Elliott, 96, C.B.
112. Leon'd Nix, "
113. Wm. Payne, " "
114. Henry Goff " "
115. Dav'd Nielson " "
116. John Morgan "
117. Fred. Hartwell " "
118. Dan. Allen " lame
119. Henry Counts " "
120. Elisha Robinson " "
121. James Burgess, " " an old man but bloody minded
122. Thomas Gill, 96 C.B.
123. Holly Goff, died on the road
124. John Tominson 96 C.B.
125. Hugh Nealey, 96 but surrendered himself to Col. Richardson
126. Witnall Warner, supposed to rob Mr. Pendelson's lodgings at 96
127. Wm. Watson, harmless man but at the C.B.
128. Chris'r Casey, 96 C.B.
129. John M. Williams, the machine maker to set fire to the 96 fort
130. Jos. Alexander, 96 C.B.
131. James Davies " "
132. Phil. Wells "
133. Jacob Stack "
134. Dan. Stagner "
135. Capt. Nealey Carghill and
136. Capt. Edghill, one sick, but both to be delivered up by 1st Feb.

NOTE: This is copied from pages 249-253 of Documentary History of the American Revolution by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D. (1855-Vol. 1) Gibbes claimed he copied it verbatim from Col. Richard Richardson's own list.

I took the liberty of abbreviating Ninety-Six, Cane Brake, and powder man to save space. It appears that there are duplications in his list, and there certainly are mis-spellings of names, in a few cases pretty odd.

Col. Richardson to Mr. Laurens

Camp Raborn's Creek, Hollingsworth's Mill,
Branch of Reedy River, Dec. 22d, 1775.

Sir:—When I wrote last, by my son, with prisoners, I thought to let you hear from us before now, but constant marching, and multiplicity of cares and business have prevented, and the more so, as I had not such things as I could wish to acquaint you with; but now, as we have got to the very extremity of the roads north-westward, take the liberty to inform you, that on Saturday last, the 16th instant, we were joined by Col. Rutherford, of Rowan, and Col. Graham, of Tryon counties, in North Carolina, with about five hundred men, who, unmasked, stepped forth, hearing of the commotions in this Province, to give their aid in the common cause. Col. Martin and Col. Polk I informed you of before, and on Wednesday, the 20th inst., I was joined by Maj. Andrew Williamson, Capt. Hammond, and a small party of Col. Bull's regiment, amounting in the whole to about eight hundred, so that our army is now formidable, between four and five thousand—a number most desirable to view—though we have had no occasion for more than my own regiment to have done the business. Notwithstanding, the number has a good effect, strikes terror, and shows what can be done on occasion—and, upon the whole, it may prove a happy event—we have been successful in disarming most of this unhappy people; they are coming in with fear and trembling, giving up their arms, with a sensible contrition for the errors they have been guilty of. The spirit of discord being much abated, the most of the Captains have come in, and good part of the companies under them. I use every method in my power for the honor of the Colonies, and the salutary and peaceable establishment of tranquility in these distracted parts. There is still a camp which we cannot yet come up with, consisting of the principal aggressors, which were, by best information, camped on the Cherokee land. I detached yesterday about thirteen hundred horse and foot, about an equal number, under the command of Cols. Thomson, Martin, Rutherford, Neel, Polk,[*] Lyles, Major Williamson, and others, commanding all volunteers, which, I flatter myself, will render us a good account, as I don't expect them in till to-morrow, or perhaps some days hence. We made use of wagon horses, and all we could muster on this service. They have had expectations of the Indians joining them, but by a letter from Mr. Wilkinson to Major Williamson, they will be disappointed in that, as he says all are peaceable there, and the Indians well satisfied, and say the Saluda people are devils, &c.; the letter is dated the 17th December, 1775, &c. We have at times got small parts of the ammunition they got, and delivered with their arms; and yesterday two barrels, say fifty pounds, and have a slight information of some more. I shall, while I stay, do every thing I can for the good of my country, but the winter is advanced, the men, from their precipitate collecting and marching, illy provided, no tents, shoes wore out, and badly clothed, make it very difficult to keep them here. If they should break off abruptly, it might have a very bad effect; and as all the different corps, from like circum-

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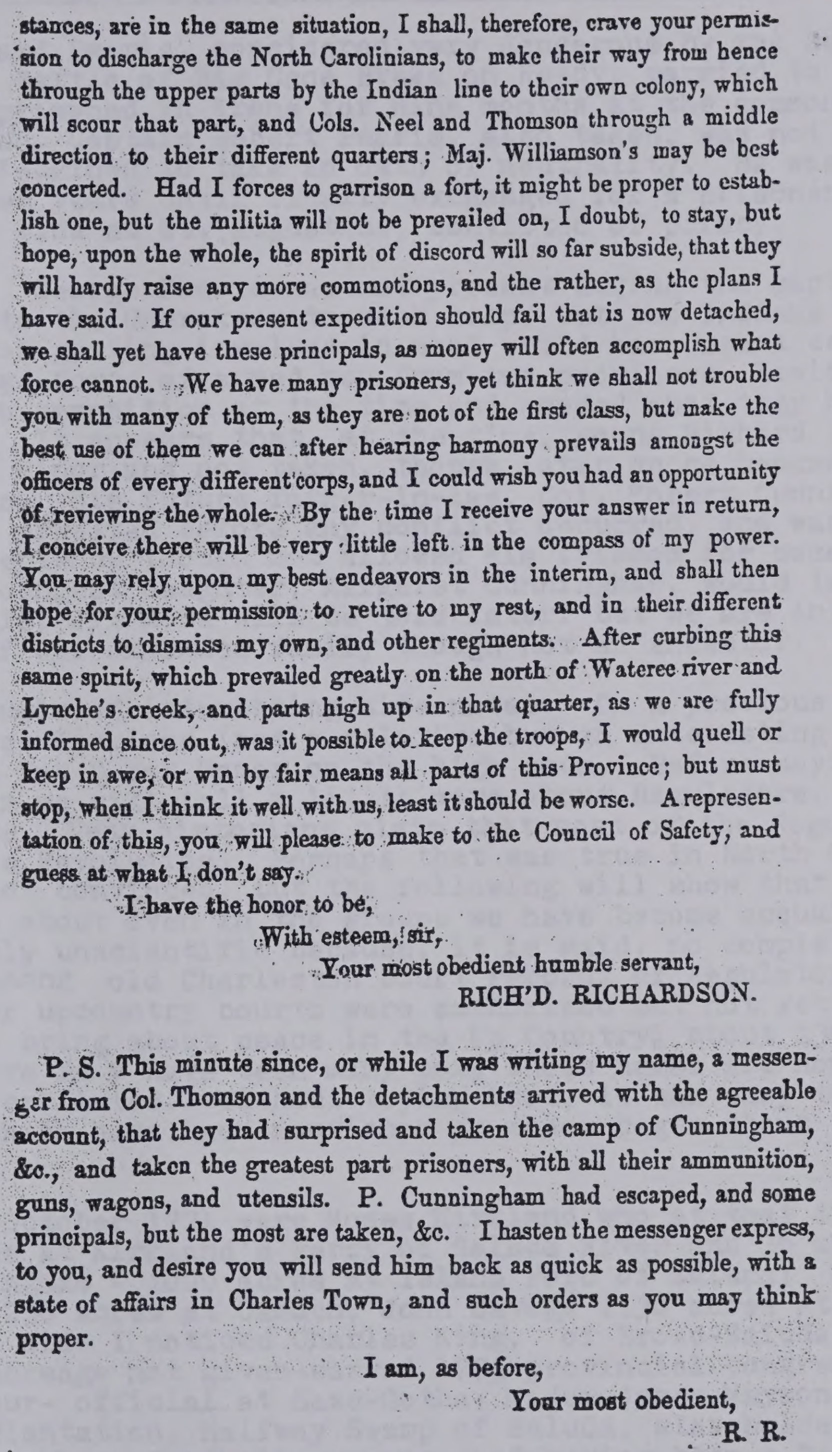
[*] Col. Griffith Rutherford and some of the others mentioned here would later march over the mountains and totally devastate the Cherokees!



stances, are in the same situation, I shall, therefore, crave your permission to discharge the North Carolinians, to make their way from hence through the upper parts by the Indian line to their own colony, which will scour that part, and Cols. Neel and Thomson through a middle direction to their different quarters; Maj. Williamson's may be best concerted. Had I forces to garrison a fort, it might be proper to establish one, but the militia will not be prevailed on, I doubt, to stay, but hope, upon the whole, the spirit of discord will so far subside, that they will hardly raise any more commotions, and the rather, as the plans I have said. If our present expedition should fail that is now detached, we shall yet have these principals, as money will often accomplish what force cannot. We have many prisoners, yet think we shall not trouble you with many of them, as they are not of the first class, but make the best use of them we can after hearing harmony prevails amongst the officers of every different corps, and I could wish you had an opportunity of reviewing the whole. By the time I receive your answer in return, I conceive there will be very little left in the compass of my power. You may rely upon my best endeavors in the interim, and shall then hope for your permission to retire to my rest, and in their different districts to dismiss my own, and other regiments. After curbing this same spirit, which prevailed greatly on the north of Wateree river and Lynche's creek, and parts high up in that quarter, as we are fully informed since out, was it possible to keep the troops, I would quell or keep in awe, or win by fair means all parts of this Province; but must stop, when I think it well with us, least it should be worse. A representation of this, you will please to make to the Council of Safety, and guess at what I don't say.

I have the honor to be,
With esteem, sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
RICH'D. RICHARDSON.

P. S. This minute since, or while I was writing my name, a messenger from Col. Thomson and the detachments arrived with the agreeable account, that they had surprised and taken the camp of Cunningham, &c., and taken the greatest part prisoners, with all their ammunition, guns, wagons, and utensils. P. Cunningham had escaped, and some principals, but the most are taken, &c. I hasten the messenger express, to you, and desire you will send him back as quick as possible, with a state of affairs in Charles Town, and such orders as you may think proper.

I am, as before,
Your most obedient,
R. R.

The photocopies of Richardson's letters on the last few pages are taken from Documentary History of the American Revolution by Robert Wilson Gibbes, M.D., published in 1855. Gibbes claimed to have copied them verbatim from the originals.

The site of the Tories' Camp was on Reedy River in the Great Cane Brake, six miles southwest of Fountain Inn of present Greenville County, South Carolina. This was not very far from the Pearis plantation.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN - DESOLATION AND RETALIATION

Captain Richard Pearis, considered very dangerous by the Rebels, was taken at the Battle of Big Cane Brake on Reedy, carried to Charles Town, and imprisoned in irons for nine months at the common gaol (jail). His second son, Captain Robert Pearis, also taken, was not so lucky because he disdained to take an oath of neutrality. He was kept in jail for three years until finally exchanged for a prisoner of war of the other side at St. Augustine, convicted of piracy.

Older son George Pearis was not present during the capture, having gone to the Cherokees to seek help; but the Indians wisely refrained from getting involved in what would have meant certain defeat by such a huge force of armed men from two provinces. Besides, they were short on ammunition at the time and needed what they had for subsistence. It appears that, at the time, young Richard Pearis, Jr., was as yet a minor and not taken, though later on he became a brave captain, also. His future father-in-law, Col. Robert Cunningham, had already been arrested before any conflict occurred. and was treated with great leniency though not allowed his freedom for some time to come. His youngest daughter, Margaret Cunningham, would later marry Richard Pearis, Jr. More will be told later, but we are interested in him as one of our extended family though not an ancestor.

Now for a couple of interesting side notes. On a previous page we last saw Moses Kirkland (not a relative but an interesting character) on board the Man-O-War Tamar on the high seas. Before saying what became of him we will tell a little more about Regulators, for he had once been one. Many historians claim that most of the Regulators became Tories in the Revolution. Perhaps that was true in North Carolina though I'm not convinced, but the following will show that the split was probably about even in the groups we have become acquainted with. This is highly unscientific because, it is said, no complete list was ever made. Among old Charleston court records of Regulators absolved in 1771 (after upcountry courts were authorized but not yet built, in an effort to bring about peace in the Up Country) about 130 are mentioned. There may have been many more whose names are now lost if they were ever listed. Without trying hard, it was easy to spot the following, which have been mentioned on these pages about the Pearis Family.

Absolved 31 October 1771 were Moses Kirkland who at that time had 11, 460 acres at Kirkland's Ferry of Saluda River and 36 slaves; Robert Cunningham - 1000 acres at Island Ford of Saluda; Robert Stark - 1250 acres at Camden; John Savage 1130 acres at 96 Village. On the Rebel side I noticed Charles King, of Broad-Saluda Fork, 30 slaves but acreage not given-served 1775 provincial congress, died 1789; William Arthur- official at Saxe-Gotha; Major James Mayson - 1400 acres at Glasgow Plantation, Halfway Swamp of Saluda, slaveholder. Though only grazing the subject, it appears that having been a Regulator did not determine one's political affiliation in that area.

The list covered the entire province, and, though presumably these men were leaders of groups of Regulators, the underlings not being recorded, as widespread as the movement was, this must have been only a sampling. A complete list might change the picture, but somehow I doubt it, and think all these men simply sought justice according to their beliefs, all probably well-intentioned though towards the end some overdid it.

Drayton had ordered Moses Kirkland's arrest to stand trial for desertion, or else assasination, so that he always traveled with four armed guards. (Drayton's accounts magnified the four to a small army.) While the other Loyalists were busy investing Ninety Six Courthouse, he and Thomas Brown slipped away to Charles Town. Brown went to see Governor Campbell and reported that Kirkland was "on the errand well known to your Lordship." A disgusted Brown explained how Drayton had manipulated Fletchall. Drayton had demanded an interview with Fletchall, Cunningham, and Brown. The men had no objection to Fletchall's going, but felt that it was a trap and feared for Brown and Cunningham's lives. Brown drafted a set of instructions for Fletchall, who didn't even read them at the meeting but (according to Brown) "had such frequent recourse to the bottle as to soon render himself non compos." Drayton drew up his own set of articles and had the uncomprehending Fletchall sign them. Therefore, the other officers did not consider themselves bound by the treaty, but he and Patrick Cunningham (Robert's brother) decided war was a matter for Campbell to decide. The Governor was very unhappy at thepremature skirmish before help from the British could arrive.

Now Kirkland was sent on just such a mission, safely aboard a British man-of-war in Charlestown Harbor. Kirkland's young son was with him, disguised as a girl because Kirkland had heard that his enemies planned to seize his son as a hostage. Kirkland went to St. Augustine, where he secured the cooperation of John Stuart, and from there sailed to Virginia. His intention was to proceed to Boston to put his plan before General Thomas Gage.*

"Kirkland's errand became a cause célèbre when he was captured and locked up in a Philadelphia prison. Gen. George Washington personally informed Congress that Kirkland was a dangerous fellow. He sent along the papers taken from Kirkland, including some of a 'very interesting nature' from John Stuart in which he suggested that the war between the Choctaws and Creeks should be ended so that the Creeks would be free to act....Washington told Gen. Philip Schuyler that..proved the British ministry intended to use Indians against the Americans. There was irony in the plan...They had borrowed upon the rumor the Whigs used for propaganda..."(No mention is made of the fact that the Whigs were already using Catawbas, though that was only a small tribe.)

Kirkland's plan to help had obviously gone very much awry, though one would think that, indirectly, General Gage would have learned that help was much wanted. Much clucking of tongues was heard when on 14 Aug 1776 it was reported that, "Kirkland, you may have heard, made his Escape when he left his son, a Child of 10 or 12 years old in Gaol." From this it seems, in the City of Brotherly Love it must not have been rare to hold an innocent 10-year-old child in jail! Surely the child must have been sent to his family after that. As for Kirkland, he made his way south to Pensacola to join the Loyalist forces.

About Patrick Cunningham, during the Snow Campaign at Big Canebrake, at the time the others were taken captive, he escaped on a horse bareback rather than be taken, telling his troops that each should "shift for himself," in trying to get away. **

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*The King's Ranger, by Cashin page 32
**Hist. of SC in the Rev. War, McCrady I:97

Henry Laurens, Pres. Council of Safety to Col. Richard Richardson*
Sir   Charles Town 20 January 1776
(He mentions what seem to be men-of-war, some large, "sailing to and fro the entrance to this harbour, and even coming near to Sullivan's Island." They seem to be reconnoitering for when the weather is better and says they are going on preparing for defense)..."We are well assured of your zeal, and place the greatest confidence in your indeavours to serve the public upon the present occasion. Robert Cunningham has petitioned for a hearing. We have some hopes, he will make such propositions we may with honour to ourselves and safety to the public accept and receive him and some other of the unfortunate men under his influence."

(Robert Cunningham had previously replied by letter that Drayton should be ahamed of himself for taking advantage of men who were frightened out of their wits by men shouting and wearing liberty caps and by cannon firing. As for himself, Cunningham had no intention of signing that "false and disgraceful" document.

"On theday the Congress met, 1 November 1775** it was informed that Captain Robert Cunningham had been taken into custody and brought to Charleston. He had been arrested under orders from Major Andrew Williamson upon the affidavit of Captain John Caldwell, charging him with seditious words. Cunningham having been brought before the Congress did not deny that he had used the words with which he was charged; he did not believe, he said, that Captain Caldwell had perjured himself; but though he did not consider himself bound by the treaty at Ninety-Six (the first one, not the one when the courthouse was taken, for he was in jail at the time) he averred "that he had since behaved himself as peaceably as any man, and although he had opinions he had not expressed them but when asked." Upon this frank statement, Captain Cunningham was comitted to the jail of Charlestown by a warrant under the hand of William Henry Drayton as President; Thomas Grimball the Sheriff was directed, however, to afford him every reasonable and necessary accommodation at the public charge. But he was enjoined not to suffer him to converse or correspond with any person whomsoever, or to have the use of pen, ink, or papers unless by espress leave from the Congress. The arrest of Cunningham was deeply resented by the people of the Upper Country,")

Now three months later he was asking for a hearing--but he was not to be released for some time yet, they were not ready. On that same day the following petition was also read.

Petition from Backcountry Prisoners

We the Subscribers Humbly Sheweth, that whereas there has Been Deversity of Oppinions, and Disturbances, in the Frontier parts of this province-Which grieves us to heart that we ever Should have Been at Varience, with our Countrymen, and good Neighbours Hon: Gentlemen--We Therefore find the Greatest Freedom, to Enter into any Honourable Terms of Unity, to preserve the peace in this Disturbed province and the peace of good

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*Papers of Henry Laurens, Vol II (1776-7) David L. Chestnut, Ed (1992) pages 50-52

**The History of South Carolina in the Revolution (1775-1780) by Edward McCrady LLD   page 86

Neighbourhood. Gentlemen--We Your Humble Petitioners here in Common Goal, a Few of Whom You Do Call Leading persons of the Party that was Against you, And According to Your Honourable Articles that may be Agreed on--we shall on any Forfeit Promise to Endeavour to Settle Peace to Your Satisfaction, And the Unity of the Different Settlements, in the Frontiers Gentlemen--We Wait With Leisure on Your Call. And Forsodoing it will Always Esteemed by us Your Humble Petitioners--

N.B. there is Different Circumstances Amongst us, Which we Make No Doubt But Your Honours will Know by Subscription--

Robt Cunningham
John Mayfield
Jas Lindle

Thos Fletchall

Benjn Wofford
Richd Pearis

Henery Centerful
Henery Goff
John Goff

David Rees
henry Green
Jeremiah Ward
Thomas Wisdom
Robert Proctor
Henry Citeman
William Burges
John McWilliams
Philip Wells
Jas Davis-
Wittenhall Warner
Adams Pardue

Matt Floyd
William Hunt
Jacob Bowman
Robt Parris-
George Neelly
David George
David McDavid
Jacob Fry
Grady Zieband
Jos Alexander
Daniel Jones
Elisha Robinson

Orders of the Council of Safety 27 January 1776

(Among the items decided were--)
We approve of the measures which you have taken for apprehending P. Cunningham, Robinson & Brown & will pay the Reward when properly claimed-- R. Cunningham & Colo Fletchall are extremely anxious to be enlarged upon promises of the Strictest neutrality & inoffensive behaviour, we must refer the consideration of their proposals to the Congress-- as to Pearis every Account we receive marks his conduct as more & more Criminal.

"Collo Richardson in his general Report did you Justice & we repeat our thanks for your Services in the expedition under his Command....."

The facilities at the Charles Town "Gaol" were not set up to hold 130 prisoners of war (those on the long list) so after such an overwhelming victory, the majority of them were before long let go after taking an oath to remain neutral. A footnote on page 230 of this reference says, "The General Assembly on April 11, 1776, recommended that fifteen prisoners from among the captured backcountry insurgents be excluded from the declaration of pardon or amnesty." In addition to Robert Cunningham they were: Henry O'Neal, Jacob Bowman, Thomas Fletchall, Patrick Cunningham, Richard Pearis, Elisha Robinson, Pinkothman Hawkins, James Alexander, Thomas Wisdom, Henry Green, Robert Proctor, William Dodgen, Stephen Prosser, and John Morgridge. The source cited was Journal of the SC General Assembly, 1776-1780 pages 46-7, 51 & 54. Though that did not mention the son, Robert Pearis, we know from other sources that he, also, remained in jail. some of those on this last list were on a "wanted list" rather than in jail.

Excerpts from History of Greenville County, South Carolina Chapter 7 (previously cited) (.... stands for omissions)

After the flare-up of 1775 had subsided, a majority of the frontier settlers were doubtless friendly to the Patriot cause, but their proximity to the Indian country kept them from taking an active part in the war. They knew that Alexander Cameron, ..was exerting every effort to secure the Cherokees' assistance for the British... and the success of his plans would bring the Indians down upon them... During early summer 1776, the frontiersmen began to feel that all was not well in Cherokee country. Rumors..drifted in. And knowing something must be done at once if (they) were to remain neutral, .. thought it well to send emissaries into the Towns to urge those deluded people to..continue friendship. Among those to go were Capt. Edward Hampton and his brother Preston who resided NE of present Greer.. Another to go into the Cherokee country was a son of Colonel Hite, who lived within present Greenville County near where the Old Spartanburg road crosses Enoree river....this noble Patriot was a young man of character and culture. At the time he was a student of the law, about to apply for admission to the bar in Charles Town. It is also said that he was engaged to be married to a daughter of Richard Pearis.

When the Hampton brothers arrived, they found they were too late... Everywhere the war dance was in progress and hurried preparations were being made for a raid upon the frontiers. They were made prisoners and their horses, guns, etc seized; but by some means (possibly assistance of friendly Indians)made their escape on foot. Young Hite, traveling into the Cherokee country a few days later..met a large band of warriors headed for the settlements. By these he was killed and scalped, thus becoming the first victim of the most bloody massacre ever suffered by Carolinians at the hands of Cherokees. The place of his death was on Estatoe River in present Pickens County, in a narrow strip between mountains. After killing the young man, the Indians proceeded to the residence of Richard Pearis, where the daughter of Pearis, recognizing "the raven locks of her lover" in the bloody scalp displayed by the savages, knew only too well what were their intentions. In an effort to save the family of her lover from the sad fate which had already befallen him, she set out on foot to warn the Hite family of its impending danger. But whether this dusky maid of the forests reached her destination and had her warning disregarded, or was overtaken by the Indians and brought back before she had delivered her message, is unknown. At any rate, the Hite family was visited by the Indians and paid a fearful toll. (Compare this to the version on page 141-2.)

When information reached the frontier that Indians had taken up the tomahawk, there was great alarm among those adhering to the Patriot cause. Quickly they set about strengthening crude forts and block houses which had been constructed...during French & Indian war...still others remained at their homes..who thought Indians would pass them by.. but only those who had espoused the cause of the Tories...had been safe from attack by erections of peeled poles wrapped around with white cloth before their homes..referred to as a "passover" sign to Indians to leave that household undisturbed. Sad to relate, many were the passovers erected.

Greenville County History, cont'd-- after killing young Hite, the Indians proceeded to the Pearis plantation where they were joined by a number of Tories. Then they moved on to the home of the sorely distressed Hite family, where Colonel Hite and a number of his children were killed, and his wife taken captive. From here a number..moved into what is now Laurens County, killing Miss Austin of Gilder Creek, but most red invaders turned north and into.. what is now Spartanburg..(and other counties)..Having effected a union, these Indians joined forces with a body of Tories which was moving to the attack of Lindley's fort, located near the mouth of Raeburn Creek in present Laurens County. Here a large number..had taken refuge, hopin for defense. Upon reaching the fort..the savages and their Tory allies painted as Indians were repulsed, since a portion of the regiment of Col. Williams had moved there and was waiting...

The body of Indians turning north from the Hite home next visited the Hampton plantation (and killed most of the family excepting Wade, who became ancestor of many illustrious Hamptons who lived there later on),.

Now the savages, having taken up the tomahawk in earnest, were not to be stayed in their bloody course. Wherever the whites could be found they were murdered, the "passover" being small protection. Captain Ford, a well-known Tory, was killed...and two daughters taken captive...(many others were named)...abject terror seized the inhabitants..(Many) fled the country or found protection in forts, leaving homes burned and crops destroyed. While matters were in this sad state, a Capt. Howard..was able to organize a small conpany who, like himself, had taken refuge in the old Block House (which is still standing, having been converted to a residence)..Also taking part was Capt. John Earle, ancestor of many still living in that county..This little band of resolute men marched to Big Chief Warrior mountain in North Carolina close by a friendly Indian, Scuyuka. who led them through a hitherto unknown gap where they were able to surprise the enemy from the rear...

(Ouconnastotah,and his men had noticed activity, but were expecting them to come from a different direction.) Captain Howard and his men attacked the Indians fiercely..but they were greatly outnumbered and might have been defeated except for suddenness of their onslaught..The Indians were in no mood to withstand an organized attack after their orgy of bloodshed and pillage. They had brought their women and children..and knew their march back must be slow....so they buried their dead there on the mountain side and began a hasty march back toward Pearis' plantation, where they no doubt expected to receive ammunition and Tory reinforcements. This skirmish, unknown to history, but well authenticated in tradition as "the Battle of Round Mountain," gave the frontier settlers their first respite.......

At this time Colonel Andrew Williamson was in command of all organized Patriot forces between Saluda and Broad...He ordered Colonel Thomas to move against the Indians. However, there was some delay in getting the troops in motion, probably occasioned by the action of the Charles Town authorities in releasing certain Up-country prisoners. After the British attack on Charles Town during the latter part of June 1776 had been repulsed, the Government thought that generosity on its part would have a good effect, so Richard Pearis, Robert Cunningham, and the "rest of the back country prisoners who were in confinement" were released. (Note: this sentence is misleading. Richard had not come home yet, nor had Robert, still incarcerated.)

But the troops of Col. Williamson were greatly incensed at this action and for several days could not be prevailed upon to enter the conflict. However, as the savages were beginning to retreat after the Battle of Round Mountain, Col. Thomas appeared with a small force and gave chase. The Indians moved from the North Carolina border across the northwestern portion of Spartanburg County towards the plantation of Richard Pearis. They were overtaken near Paris mountain by a small detachment from Col. Thomas' force, and a skirmish took place. The Indians continued their retreat, but being hard pressed, killed a number of their prisoners, who were hampering their progress. Among this was Mrs. Jacob Hite. But others were either released or permitted to escape..(including) two daughters of Captain Ford, the Tory killed during the raid. When the Pearis plantation was reached, the Indians did not find the expected reinforcements and continued their retreat. But for several days prior thereto, the Pearis home had been closely watched by spies sent out by Col. Williamson, and these emissaries reported unusual activity about the place. Col. Williamson concluded that Pearis was up to his old tricks again and sent couriers to Thomas, ordering him to give the Pearis home a call as he passed it..

So on 16 July 1776, Colonel Thomas took possession of the property of Richard Pearis, burned his home, mill, and trading station, confiscated all his cattle and horses for the use of his army, and carried away his wife, two daughters, and one son. Captain Pearis was still away at the time and thereby saved himself a second imprisonment. It is said that the family of Pearis was subjected to much abuse and punishment by their captors. According to some accounts, they were marched on foot 25 miles a day with little food and no covering for their heads against the heat of a summer sun, and were then confined for three days with practically no food, and afterwards sent off in an open wagon to a point near Augusta, 100 miles away, where they were left among strangers to shift for themselves, Without money or provisions.

After a few days' delay, awaiting reinforcements and supplies, Colonel Thomas set out for the Cherokee country with a fixed determination to revenge the bloody desolation which the savages had left behind them. Among his troops were many of the frontiersmen who had suffered sorely at the hands of the Indian, and who were in a mood to fight as they had never done before. Everywhere the Indians fled before them, leaving their homes and growing crops to be destroyed. By August 13th, the destruction of the lower settlements was complete. The Patriot army was now reinforced, and on September 13th a force of 2,000 men started on its march over the mountains toward the middle settlement towns, which were reached on Sept. 23rd. Here ...the destruction was soon complete, and in early Cctober the army, having fully performed its mission, was disbanded. The successful termination of the Cherokee War of 1776 ended forever the danger of Indian massacres in the Carolina up-country.

So ends the narrative of the Cherokee War of 1776 as told by Greenville County History by James M. Richardson in 1930. Concerned only with the history of that county, he naturally leaves out the part played in the practical annihilation of the Cherokees at the hands of the white man by General Griffith Rutherford, commanding officer in charge, but a North Carolinian. I won't add much to that, except a photocopy on the next page, and I shudder to think of it, but one of the captains

under Rutherford appears to have been Captain Martin Armstrong of Surry Co. NC, closely associated with a Lt. John Griffith under him. A distant cousin named Sylvan Griffith who suspects he was descendant of that man and is certainly related to us in some way has made contact with us. Though we don't know Lt. Griffith was in the Cherokee War of 1776, it seems as though he probably was. Sarah (Pearis) Teter's daughter Sally married Samuel Griffith in Kentucky in 1791, possibly a nephew of that man. Small ironic world, isn't it?

GENERAL GRIFFITH RUTHERFORD.

General Griffith Rutherford was an Irishman by birth, brave and patriotic, but uncultivated in mind and manners. He resided west of Salisbury, in the Locke settlement, and actively participated in the internal government of the county, associated with such early and distinguished patriots as Moses Winslow, Alexander Osborn, Samuel Young, John Brevard, James Brandon, William Sharpe, Francis McCorkle, and others. He represented Rowan county in the Provincial Congress which met at Halifax on the 4th of April, 1776, and during this session he received the appointment of Brigadier General of the "Salisbury District." Near the close of the summer of 1776, he raised and commanded an army of two thousand four hundred men against the Cherokee Indians. After being reinforced by the Guilford Regiment, under Colonel James Martin, and by the Surry Regiment, under Colonel Martin Armstrong, at Fort McGahey, General Rutherford crossed the "Blue Ridge," or Alleghany mountains, at Swannanoa Gap, near the western base of which the beautiful Swannanoa river ("nymph of beauty") takes its rise. After reaching the French Broad he passed down and over that stream at a crossing-place which to this day bears the name of the "War Ford." He then passed up the valley of "Hominy Creek," leaving Pisgah Mountain on the left, and crossed Pigeon River a little below the mouth of East Fork. He then passed through the mountains to Richland Creek, above the present town of Waynesville; ascended the creek and crossed the Tuckaseegee River at an Indian town. Pursuing his course, he crossed the Cowee Mountain, where he had a small engagement with the enemy, in which one of his men was wounded. As the Indians carried off their dead and wounded, their loss could not be ascertained. Thence he marched to the "Middle Towns," on the Tennessee river, where, on the 14th of September, he met General Williamson with troops from South Carolina on the same mission of subduing the Indians.

In skirmishes at Valley Town, Ellajay, and near Franklin, General Rutherford lost three men, but he completely subdued the Indians. He then returned home by the same route, since known as "Rutherford's Trace." The Rev. James Hall, of Iredell county, accompanied this expedition as chaplain.

The uniforms of the officers and men was a hunting-shirt of domestic, trimmed with cotton: their arms were rifles, and *none knew better how to use them.* Many of the hardy sons of the west there experienced their first essay in arms, and their bravery was nobly maintained afterwards at King's Mountain, the Cowpens, and elsewhere in the South.

General Rutherford commanded a brigade in the battle of Camden, (16th of August, 1780), and was there made a prisoner. After he was exchanged he again took the field, and commanded the expedition which marched by way of Cross Creek (now Fayetteville) to Wilmington, when that place, on his approach, was evacuated by the British, near the close of the war.

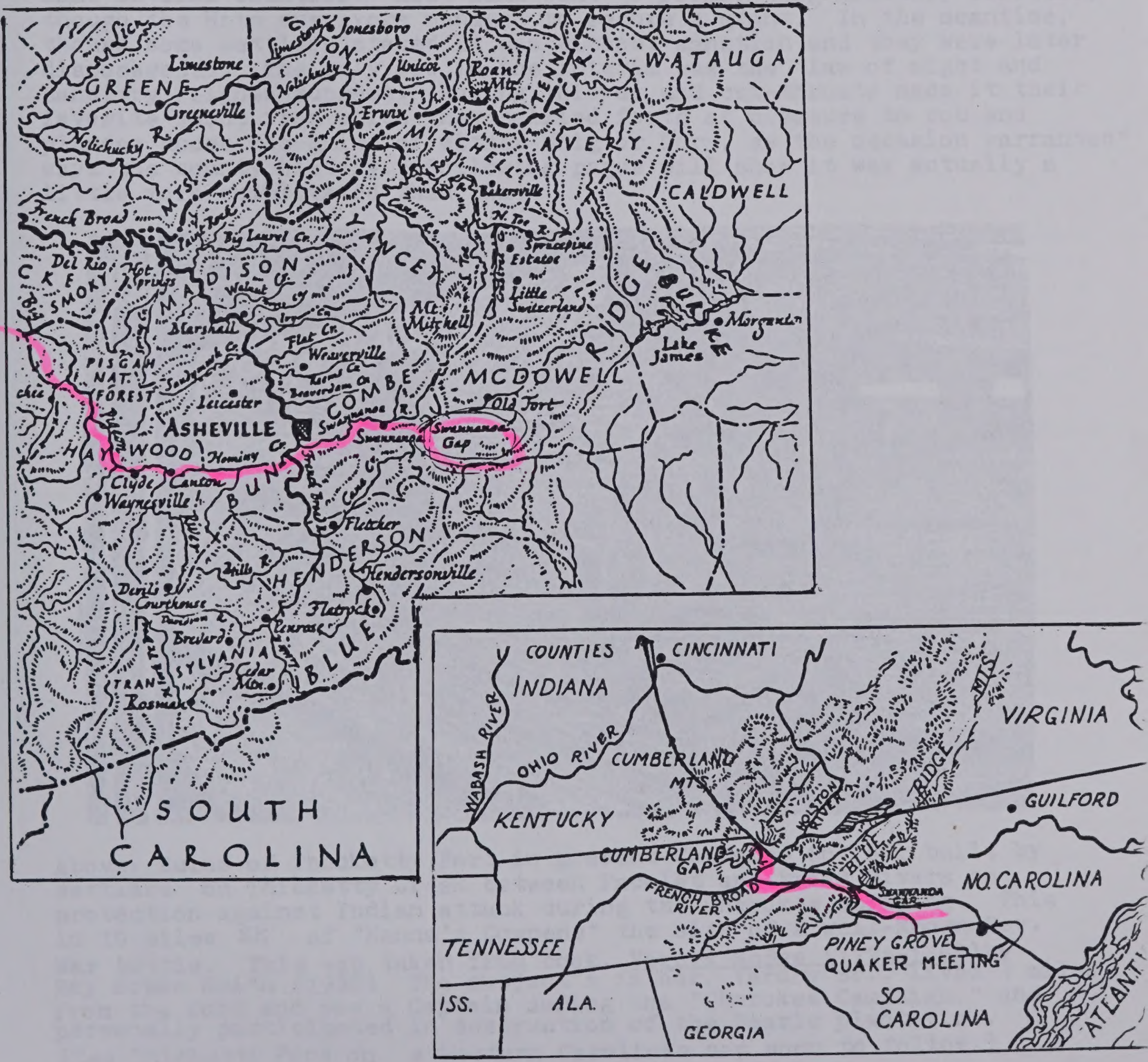
He frequently represented Rowan county in the Senate during and subsequent to the war, showing the high appreciation in which his services were held by the people. Shortly after his last service in 1786, he joined the strong tide of emigration to Tennessee, where his well-earned fame and experience in governmental matters had preceded him. The Knoxville *Gazette* of the 6th of September, 1794, contains the following announcement:

"On Monday last the General Assembly of this territory commenced their session in this town. General Rutherford, long distinguished for his services in the Legislature of North Carolina, is appointed President of the Legislative Council."

General Rutherford died in Tennessee near the beginning of the present century, at a good old age, and it is to be regretted more has not been preserved of his life and services.

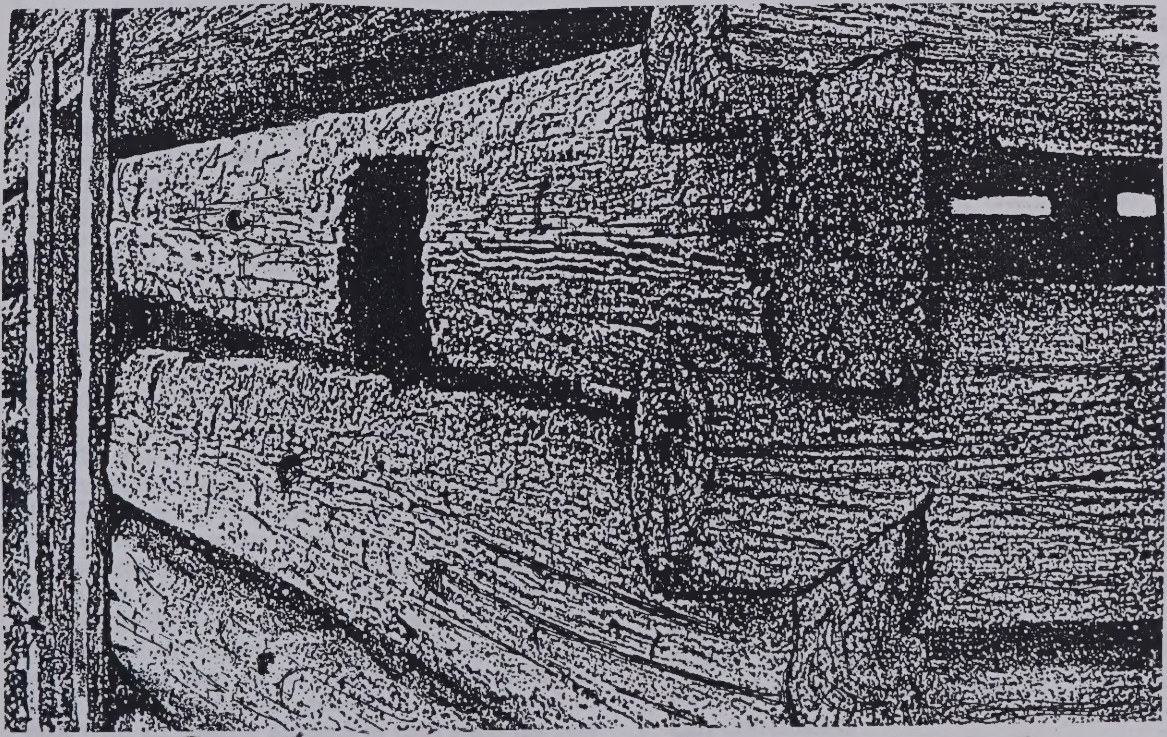
Sketch copied from Sketches of Western North Carolina, Historical and Biographical by Cyrus L. Hunter (1877) Reprint 1995 Heritage Books

The maps below show part of the route General Rutherford used in his foray across the mountains to chastize the Cherokees (and maybe with an eye to acquiring some Tennessee land later, after they were forced to cede it--in that he succeeded). His army crossed the Blue Ridge at Swannanoah Gap, then up that river to Hominy Creek, and took Pigeon River north of Waynesville, thence to (not shown) Tuskegee River across Cowee Mountain and the Middle Cherokee Towns on the Tennessee River--called French Broad on the inset. The little map is from a much later time, showing how a group of Quakers got to early Randolph Co. IL Some of their group used Rutherford's route across the mountains, with a cut-off to Cumberland Gap.


Jonesboro
Limestone
GREENE
Greeneville
Nolichucky R.
Unicoi
Roan Mt.
Erwin
MITCHELL
AVERY
WATAUGA
CALDWELL
Bakersville
French Broad
MTS
Big Laurel Cr.
YANCEY
Del Rio
Hot Springs
SMOKY
MADISON
Marshall
Spruce Pine
Estatoe
Little Switzerland
Mt. Mitchell
RIDGE
BURKE
Morganton
Lake James
Flat Cr.
Weaverville
PISGAH NAT. FOREST
Leicester
MCDOWELL
Old Fort
ASHEVILLE
COMBE
Swannanoa R.
Swannanoa
Swannanoa Gap
HAYWOOD
Hominy Cr.
Clyde
Canton
Waynesville
BUN
Fletcher
HENDERSON
Hendersonville
Mills R.
Devil's Courthouse
Flatrock
Brevard
SYLVANIA
TRAN
Rosman
Cedar Mtn.
BLUE
SOUTH CAROLINA
COUNTIES
CINCINNATI
INDIANA
WABASH RIVER
OHIO RIVER
CUMBERLAND MTS
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
MTS
HOLSTON RIVER
BLUE RIDGE
GUILFORD
CUMBERLAND GAP
FRENCH BROAD RIVER
SWANNANOA GAP
NO. CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
PINEY GROVE QUAKER MEETING
MISS.
ALA.
GEORGIA
SO. CAROLINA
ATLANTIC

Following defeat of the Cherokees in 1776, a treaty of peace was signed 20 May 1777, ceding all remaining Cherokee land in SC to the white man, except a tiny slivver in the mountainous far western tip of the state, made into a reservation. The document was signed at a trading post at DeWitt's Corners (later called Due West), on the Cherokee path leading to Fort Charlotte on the Savannah River.

Though the Indians were driven out, the new state was too busy prosecuting the war with Great Britain to open the land to settlers and remained part of Ninety Six District until 1784 when counties were created, with Greenville Co. then so large it included what later became several counties. Most land went to former Whig military officers, though the Hite survivors managed to secure a grant. In the meantime, though some settlers stayed it was without sanction and they were later dispossessed. The only law in the interim was the "law of might and banditry reigned supreme. Roving thieves and cut-throats made it their favorite haunt from which they sallied forth at pleasure to rob and plunder under the guise of either Whig or Tory, as the occasion warranted" says the county history. Following pages will show it was actually a little more complicated than that.



Above: Ruins of Thicketty Fort in present Cherokee Co. SC, built by settlers on Thicketty Creek between Pacolet and Broad Rivers as protection against Indian attack during the Cherokee uprising. This is 10 miles SE of "Hanna's Cowpens" the site of a well-known Rev. War Battle. This was taken from book, Vardry McBee (1775-1864) by Roy McBee Smith (1992) The subject's father, Vardry Sr., lived 3 miles from the fort and was a Captain during the "Cherokee Campaign," and personally participated in destruction of the Pearis plantation. (See Thicketty Fort on a Western Carolinas map soon to follow.)

Rev. Charles Cummings and Rev. Joseph Rhea accompanied the first battalion as chaplains. Colonel William Christian, with his command proceeded to Long Island on the Holston (Kingsport). Here they were joined by troops from North Carolina under Major Winston. On the first day of August, 1776, the Virginia Council gave the following instructions to Colonel William Christian as commander-in-chief of all the forces.

> When your battalion and the battalion under Colonel Charles Lewis are completed, you are to march with them and the forces under the command of Colonel Russell, and such others as may join you from Carolina, into the Cherokee country, if these forces shall be judged sufficient for the purpose of severly chastising that cruel and perfidious nation, which you are to do in a manner most likely to put a stop to future insults and ravages and that may redound most the honor of American arms. If the Indians should be reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, you must take care to demand of them a sufficient number of their chiefs and warriors as hostages, for the performance of the conditions you may require of them. You must insist on their delivering up all prisoners who may choose to leave them and on their giving up to justice all persons amongst them who have been concerned in bringing on the present war, particularly Stuart, Cameron and Gist, and all others who have committed murder or robberies on our frontiers. You may require any other terms which the situation of affairs may point out and you may judge necessary for the safety and honor of the Commonwealth. You must endeavor to communicate with the commanding officer of the Carolina forces and cooperate with him, making the attack as near the time of his as may be.
>
> You are from time to time to write His Excellency the Governor, giving him a full account of your operations, and requiring his further instructions.
>
> Instructions to Colonel Charles Lewis of the second battalions of minute men: You are to order the captains under your command to march their companies to their respective counties, then to discharge such of their men as are not properly qualified to serve on an expedition against the Indians. and to raise with all possible dispatch in their stead the best recruits that can be found for the service. and, having so completed their companies, to repair to the Big Island on Holston river in Fincastle county, the place of general rendezvous.

In the month of September, 1776, that portion of the troops under the command of Colonel William Russell began their march to the Great Island of the Holston.

THE TREATY OF LONG ISLAND

July 2, 1777, was a momentous day in the history of Long Island and the Holston settlements.

In accordance with the truce agreed upon the previous year the mighty chiefs of the Cherokee nation with their retainers and braves had gathered at this historic spot. Among those present were Oconosta of Chota, Rayetach of Toquoe, the Raven of Chota, Oo-tosse-eteh of Hiwassee, Ooskuah of Chilhowie, Atta-Kula-Kula of Natchey* Creek, the Terrapin of Chilestooch, Sunne Wauh of Big Island and many others. Also came Colonel William Preston, Colonel William Christian and Colonel Evan Shelby, commissioners for Virginia duly appointed by His Excellency Governor Patrick Henry. North Carolina was represented by Waighstill Avery, William Sharpe, Robert Lanier and Joseph Coniston. The Fourth of July was duly observed, being the first anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. As was the custom when treating with the Indians there were many "Big Talks" and much ceremony observed.

This treaty was soon broken by the white men, who persisted in encroaching on the Indian territory. The distant lands always seemed more attractive to the settler and he pushed over the Indian boundaries, in his quest for fertile land, with no thought for the consequences of his act.

After many days of parleying a treaty was finally agreed upon on July 20, 1776. The Cherokees were forced out of their rightful heritage whose boundaries originally comprised an empire embracing the richest natural resources to be found on the American continent.

The boundaries agreed upon between the commissioners and the Cherokee chiefs were as follows:

> That the boundary line between the State of North Carolina and the said Over-Hill Cherokees shall forever hereafter be and remain as follows, (to wit) Beginning at a point in the dividing line which during the treaty hath been agreed upon between the said Over-Hill Cherokees and the State of Virginia,

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*Picture of Atta-kulla-kulla as a teenager appears on page 40.

JUNCTION OF NORTH AND SOUTH FORKS OF HOLSTON RIVER AT ROTHERWOOD
Site of Treaty--Long Island at left. Also see illustration pg 42.

where the line between that state and North Carolina (hereafter to be extended) shall cross or intersect the same, running thence a right line to the north bank of the Holston River at the mouth of Cloud's Creek, being the second creek below the Warrior's Ford, at the mouth of Carter's Valley, thence a right line to the highest point of a mountain called the High Rock or Chimney Top, from thence a right line to the mouth of Camp Creek, otherwise called McNama's Creek, on the south bank of Nolichucky River, about ten miles or thereabouts below the mouth of Great Limestone, be the same more or less, and from the mouth of Camp Creek aforesaid a south-east course into the mountains which divide the hunting grounds of the middle settlements from those of the Over-Hill Cherokees.

It was with the greatest reluctance that the Cherokees yielded Long Island. For generations it had been held sacred as their treaty ground. Many peace pacts had been held on this mystic island, many peace pipes had been smoked here and the council fire had burned many times.

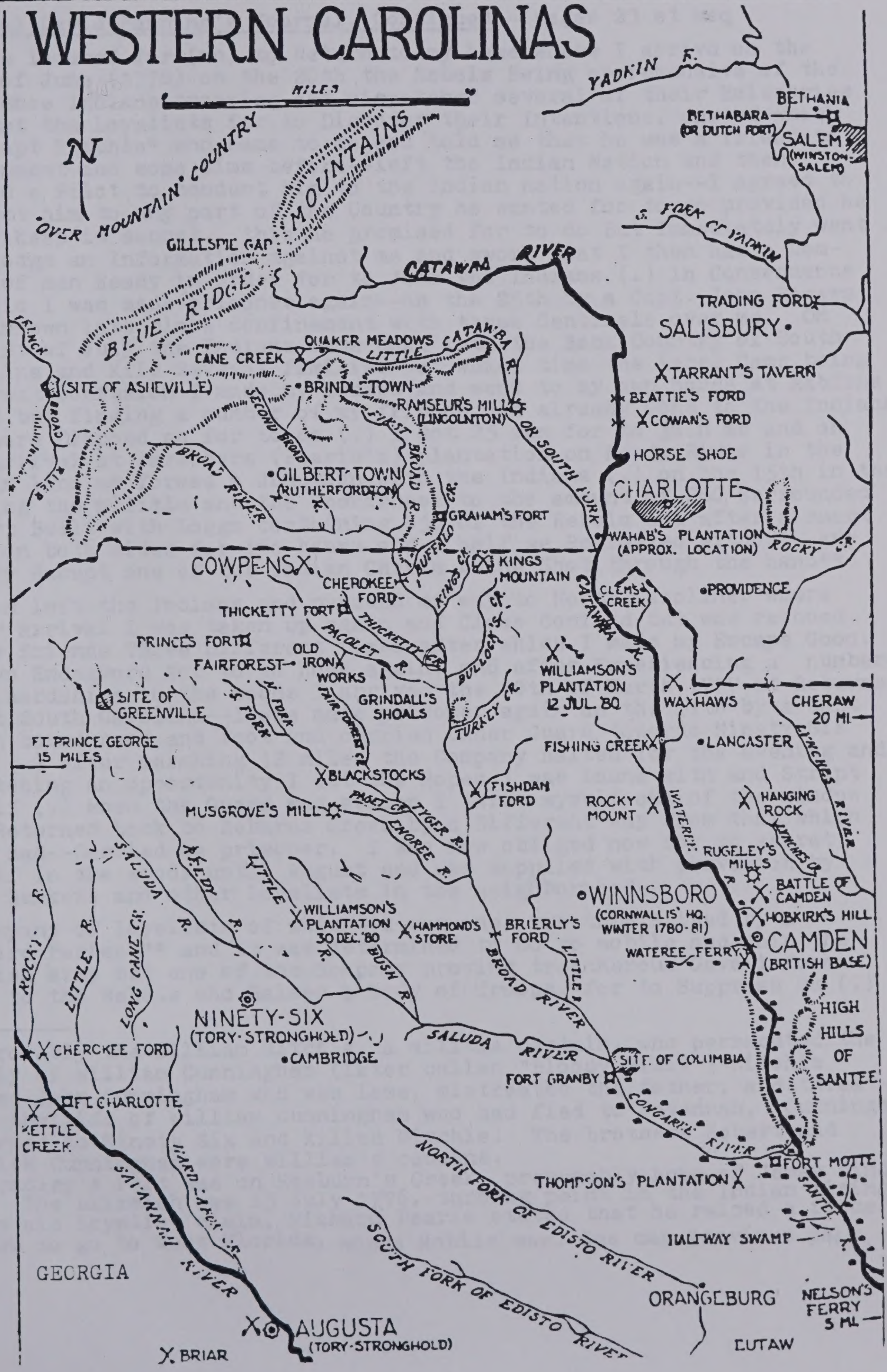
So great was the sentiment attached to this strip of land that a protest memorandum was entered into the treaty as follows:

> The Tassell yesterday objected to giving up Great Island, opposite to Fort Henry, to any person or country whatsoever, except Colonel Nathaniel Gist, for whom and themselves it was reserved by the Cherokees. The Raven did the same, this day, in behalf of his people and desired that Colonel Gist might sit down upon it when he pleased as it belonged to him and them to hold good talks on.

Petty border warfare continued and in 1779 Colonel Evan Shelby led a campaign against the Chickamaugas who resided near Lookout Mountain (Chattanooga) on the Tennessee River. Colonel Shelby collected his troops at Long Island (Kingsport). With nearly one thousand men at his command he adopted a different style of warfare. Boats were built for the entire command and they swiftly descended the Holston and Tennessee rivers to Chickamauga, the Indian stronghold. Dragging Canoe with five hundred warriors fled on the approach of Shelby's army and his town was destroyed. As the Indian chiefs did not respond to his request that they come in and make peace, Shelby destroyed twelve of their towns and vast stores of corn. Quantities of goods as well as horses were also captured and confiscated. After this chastisement Shelby destroyed his boats and returned overland to Long Island. His men had to march over two hundred miles through a trackless wilderness and suffered much on this return journey.

Poor, devastated Cherokees!

This map will help you identify many places David Fanning mentioned.


WESTERN CAROLINAS
MILES
N
OVER MOUNTAIN COUNTRY
MOUNTAINS
YADKIN R.
BETHANIA
BETHABARA (OR DUTCH FORT)
SALEM (WINSTON-SALEM)
S. FORK OF YADKIN
GILLESPIE GAP
BLUE RIDGE
CATAWBA RIVER
TRADING FORD
SALISBURY
FRENCH BROAD RIVER
CANE CREEK
QUAKER MEADOWS
LITTLE CATAWBA R.
(SITE OF ASHEVILLE)
BRINDLETOWN
RAMSEUR'S MILL (LINCOLNTON)
TARRANT'S TAVERN
BEATTIE'S FORD
COWAN'S FORD
SECOND BROAD
FIRST BROAD R.
OR SOUTH FORK
HORSE SHOE
BROAD RIVER
GILBERT TOWN (RUTHERFORDTON)
CHARLOTTE
BUFFALO CR.
GRAHAM'S FORT
WAHAB'S PLANTATION (APPROX. LOCATION)
ROCKY CR.
COWPENS
CHEROKEE FORD
KINGS MOUNTAIN
KINGS CR.
CATAWBA R.
CLEMS CREEK
PROVIDENCE
THICKETTY FORT
THICKETTY CR.
BULLOCK CR.
PRINCES FORT
OLD IRON WORKS
FAIRFOREST
PACOLET R.
WILLIAMSON'S PLANTATION 12 JUL. 80
WAXHAWS
CHERAW 20 MI.
SITE OF GREENVILLE
S. FORK
N. FORK
FAIR FOREST CR.
GRINDALL'S SHOALS
TURKEY CR.
FT. PRINCE GEORGE 15 MILES
FISHING CREEK
LANCASTER
LYNCHES RIVER
BLACKSTOCKS
FISHDAM FORD
MUSGROVE'S MILL
PACOLET OR TYGER R.
ENOREE R.
ROCKY MOUNT
WATEREE R.
HANGING ROCK
LYNCHES CR.
RUGELEY'S MILLS
SALUDA R.
REEDY R.
LITTLE R.
BATTLE OF CAMDEN
WINNSBORO (CORNWALLIS' HQ. WINTER 1780-81)
HOBKIRK'S HILL
ROCKY R.
WILLIAMSON'S PLANTATION 30 DEC. '80
HAMMOND'S STORE
BRIERLY'S FORD
CAMDEN (BRITISH BASE)
LITTLE R.
LONG CANE CR.
BUSH R.
BROAD RIVER
LITTLE R.
WATEREE FERRY
HIGH HILLS OF SANTEE
NINETY-SIX (TORY-STRONGHOLD)
SALUDA RIVER
CHEROKEE FORD
CAMBRIDGE
SITE OF COLUMBIA
FORT GRANBY
CONGAREE RIVER
FT. CHARLOTTE
KETTLE CREEK
NORTH FORK OF EDISTO RIVER
FORT MOTTE
HARD LABOR CR.
THOMPSON'S PLANTATION
SANTEE
SAVANNAH RIVER
SOUTH FORK OF EDISTO RIVER
HALFWAY SWAMP
GEORGIA
ORANGEBURG
NELSON'S FERRY 5 MI.
AUGUSTA (TORY-STRONGHOLD)
BRIAR
EUTAW

Colonel David Fanning's Journal, Continued - pages 23 et seq

--this indused for (me) to Return to my home where I arrivd on the 15th of June (1776) on the 20th the Rebels Being apprehensive of the Cherichee Indians breaking out dispatched several of their Emissaries amongst the Loyalists for to Discover their Intentions, one of which was Capt Ritchie* who came to me and told me that he was a friend to Government and some time before--left the Indian Nation and then wanted a Pilot to conduct him to the Indian nation again--I agreed to Conduct him to any part of the Country he wanted for to go provided he would Keep it secret. this he promised for to do But Immediately went and lodgd an Information against me and swore that I then had a Company of men Ready in order for to Join the Indians (.) in Consequence of this I was made prisoner again--on the 25th by a Capt. John Rogers and thrown into close confinement with three Centinels over me. On the 1st of July the Indians came down into the Back Country of South Carolina and Kild Several families--at which time the Rebel Camp being in Great Confusion I made my Escape and went to my own house at Rabirns Creek but finding a number of my friends had already Gone to the Indians and more Disposd so for to do (.) I Got 25 men for to join me and on our arrival at Pareshers (Pearis's) plantation on Reedy River in the Indian land we formed a Junction with the Indians (.) on the 15th in the Evening the militia and the Cherichees to the amount of 260 Surrounded a fort Built with Loggs containing 450 of the Rebels and after a smart fire on both sides for two hours and a half we Retreated without--any Injury Except one of the Indian Chiefs being Shot through the hand**

I then left the Indians and pursued my way to North Carolina, where on my arrival I was taken up again and Close Confind but was rescued by my friends Three Different times after which I made my Escape Good. I then Endeavord for to go home again, and after Experiencing a numberless hardships in the woods I arrived the 10th of March 1777 at Reburns Creek South Carolina--I was made prisoner again on the 11th by a Capt Smith bound hand and foot and carried under Guard towards Ninety Six Gaol (.) after marching 12 miles the Company halted for the evening and I watching an opportunity I cut the Ropes I was bound with and Stript myself (.) when the Guard was asleep I threw myself out of the window and Returned back to Reburns Creek by a Different way from that which they had--Carried me prisoner. I was now obliged now for to secret myself in the woods until August and was supplied with provision by some Quakers and other Loyalists in the neighborhood--

A Company of Loyalists of which--I was one, was thin Raised by a Richard Parish*** and it was determined to Go to mobile and Join the British army but one of the Company proving treacherous Gave information to the Rebels who Raised a body of Troops, for to Suppress us (.)

---

*Probably the William Ritchie, a militia captain, who persecuted the family of William Cunningham (later called "Bloody Bill.") Ritchie killed John Cunningham who was lame, mistreated the father, and threatened the life of William Cunningham who had fled to Savannah. Cunningham returned to Ninety Six and killed Ritchie. The brothers Robert and Patrick Cunningham were William's cousins.

**Lyndley's Fort was on Raeburn's Creek, presumably home of James Lindley. The skirmish was 15 July 1776, turning point in the Indian rising.

***In his Loyalist claim, Richard Pearis stated that he raised a force of 400 to go to West Florida, where Mobile was. See map previous page.

they took me with five more prisoners and Carried us to Ninety Six Goal. the 5th of August 1777 Captain Parrish escaped with some of the Loyalists belonging to the Company and made his way Good to the British army at mobile in West Floriday--Myself with the five others who were taken remained in Close Confinement untill November following and were then tried for our Lives on a Charge of High Treason for Rising in arms against the United States of America but where Acquitted and went home (.)the fees and expenses of my Confinement amounted to 300L Virginia money allowing Dollars at 6 Shillings each which I paid and was then Ordered back to the Goal for the Rent of the Room.

on the 1st of march 1778, Capt. John York of East Florida Received Orders from the Commander in Chief for the Loyal militia of Georgia and South Carolina to assemble themselves accordingly they were embodied. the majority of the people chose me their Commanding Officer (.) we took a number of prisoners furnished ourselves with horses and marched to Savannah River on the Borders of Georgia 12 miles above Augusta. (footnote says these border raids by the So. Car. and GA militia were apparently designed to disrupt the impending Whig invasion of Florida under Major Gen. Robert Howe. The poorly organized and supplied invasion was aborted at the border in July.) Capt. York who was our Pilot then Got discouraged and would not Suffer any of the militia to proceed with him back to East Florida except these men; we were then under the necessity of Returning home upwards of 100 miles through the Rebels Country and betake ourselves to the woods as formerly. During our Retreat we were pursued by 300 of the Rebels but Got Back home to Reburns Creek--when the Rebels found we were Returned they Raised a body of men for to take us and for the space of three months Kept so Constant a Look out that we were oblidged for to stay in the woods.
(Now for four pages he relates almost unbelievable suffering yet courage and daring on Raeburns Creek, North Carolina, etc., in the woods, in local militias, several escapes from jail and an abortive attempt to embody troops to go to St. Augustine, betrayals, etc., We take up with him again with two bullet wounds, unextracted in his back which began to fester and then thrown from his horse, 12 miles farther on. He remained in the woods eight days with nothing to eat but herbs and three eggs, his wounds becoming very offensive for want of a dressing. He then managed to get on a horse again and went to a friend's house where he made a signal)...and a young Girl 14 years old came to me. But when near enough to see me She was frightened So at the Sight She Run off But I pursued after her on horse Back and telling her who I was She Said She new it was me But I was Dead and that I then was a Sperit and Stunk yet. I was a long time before I could Get her to come to me I looked So much like a Rack of nothing But Skin and bones and my wounds had never been Drest and my Clothes all Bloody (.) my misery and Situation was beyond Explanation and no friend in The world that I could depend on(.) however these people Seeing me in that Distrest Situation took the Greatest Care of me and Drest my wounds....My horse having been Seen by Some of the Rebel party they concluded I was not Killed and wrote Several letters which they gave one of my friends offering to treat with me and advising me to Surrender threatening at the Same time in case I did not to Banish eight families of my Friends out of South Carolina.

A limited time was given for my answer but it had expired before that I received it. in Consequence of which their threats were put in Execution and the peoples properties was taken from them, and themselves Confined. on the Receipt of my Letters the people were liberated but their properties were Still Detained.

The Second day after I treated with the Colonel of the Rebel Militia and had an express Sent of to Governor Rutledge at Charles Town about a week after his answer Came Back with a conditional pardon that which I had done should be forgotten and that I should live quietly and peceably at Home, and be oblidged to pilot parties through the woods as occation might Require.

Before I excepted of these conditions I advised with my friends and Company who all approved of it as it conduced both to their Ease and Safety. I Remained at home a year and twelve Days and was Repeatedly urged for to Except of a Company in the Continental Service which I always Refused. (Footnote says though he refused a commission he admitted cooperating with the Whigs by serving as a guide for the militia and was paid for it.) after the Reduction of Charles Town* myself and one William Cunningham** concluded for to embody a party of men which we affected. we Determined for to take Colo Williams of the Rebels militia prisoner and then Join Capt Parish*** who was to Raise a Company and assist us--Colo Williams got notice of it and pushed off and though we caught Sight of him he escaped us.

We now found ourselves growing Strong. Numbers flocking Daily to us--I then took the Kings proclamation and Distributed them through the country for upwards of 100 miles. Capt Parrish had the command of the party and marched up to Ninety Six which he took possession off without firing a Shot where I found him again. We marched about

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*The siege of Charleston commenced in March 1780 and the city surrendered on 12 May. The capitulation of over 5000 troops was the worst defeat suffered by the American forces in the Revolution and demoralized the Whigs. Many American history books tell about it so I won't.

**William Cunningham ("Bloody Bill"--see previous footnote) a cousin of Robert, and native of Virginia, lived in Ninety Six Dist by 1775 and was in the Whig militia 1775-6. After defecting to the Loyalists he was involved in a vengeance slaying of a Whig militiaman (Ritchie). When Charleston fell he became a major in the Loyalist militia and in 1781-2 he led a series of vicious raids through the Up Country. Upon the evacuation of Charleston he fled to East Florida where he joined a gang of bandits led by Daniel McGirth. He was captured by Spanish authorities in 1785 and deported to the Bahamas. The following year he was in London, and in 1787 he had returned to Charleston SC where he died. (His was an obvious case of neurosis due to war suffering!)

*** Richard Pearis was at that time acting as a Lt. Col. of the militia and directing the effort to disarm and disperse the backcountry Whig forces.

12 miles to General Williamsons* at whitehall who commanded a fort with 14 Swivils and two companies of provincial Troops on our approach he met us within 3 miles of the fort attended by Several officers Requesting he might discharge the Troops and Receive protection for himself and them. we granted him what he Requested and took possession of the Fort and their arms which they piled up. atter that they moved Out of the Garrison--Three Days after that, Colo Pickins** with 300 men marched in and laid down their arms.

General Robert Cunningham of the Loyal Militia now took the command and formed a camp. we Kept scouting parties through the country and had many skirmeshes but none of consequence--after the British american Troops had taken possession of ninety Six I continued scouting on the Indian lines untill Colonel Innis*** forwarded his march up to Musgroves Mill on the Innoree River (Enoree). I then joined them with a party of 14 men. the morning following the Picketts were attacked by a party of Rebels. Colo Innis ordered us to advance and Support them, which we did. and followed them untill we arrived where the main body lay in ambush under the command of Colonel Williams. Colo Innis was unfortunately wounded with Several other officers.**** we engaged them for Some time and then Retreated about a mile and a quarter where we encamped and in the night marched off toward ninety Six under the command of Captain Depister.***** and the next morning I and my Small party Returned back to the Indian lines. We continued Scouting on the lines for sometime untill I met with Capt Parish of the British american South Carolina Regmt who gave me a list of Several Soldiers that had permission for to visit their friends in the country on the Return from Florida to ninety Six. I was Desired by him for to give them notice for to Join their Regiments and on this Expedition I fell in with Major Forgessons party which was Defeated five Days afterwards ****** The Rebels after this Begin to be numerous and troublesom and little or no Regulation amongst us. I made the best of my way back to Deep River in North Carolina where I Remained untill the month of February 1781. I was During this time discovering the disposition of the people being Informed that Lord Cornwallis was marching that way. (From here on out David Fanning, though experiencing a very exciting life, is no longer in the same vicinity as the Pearises.)

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*Andrew Williamson (d 1787) of Whitehall in 96 Dist, had a leading role in subduing the Loyalists in 1775. He commanded the siege of 96 & was defeated; but was later a SC commander in the forces crushing the Cherokees. Whig representative of 96 Dist in Congress 1775 & Gen. Assembly 1776-1780. Brig. Gen. militia by 1779, commanding a brigade in GA, at Briar Creek defeat. After this capitulation in 1780 he cooperated with British, said to have been called "Arnold of SC." Later captured & estate confiscated, but died by 1787.

**Andrew Pickens (1739-1817) PA native, settled on Long Cane Creek by 1765, justice of peace & militia captain before Rev. Was at siege of 96, as shown. It is said Pearis saved him then and he returned the favor years later when Pearis needed rescuing

Footnotes continued next page---

By 1778 Pickens was a Whig colonel of themilitia for 96 Dist and at Kettle Creek in 1779. After the fall of Charleston he surrendered and was paroled. When his plantation was pillaged he left parole. Following his distinguished service at Cowpens, he was commissioned a Brigadier General and remained actively engaged during Greene's campaign in North And South Carolina. After the war he served in the General assembly and a term in US Congress 1793-95. Pickens County is named for him. Many histories of the Revolution tell of his exploits.

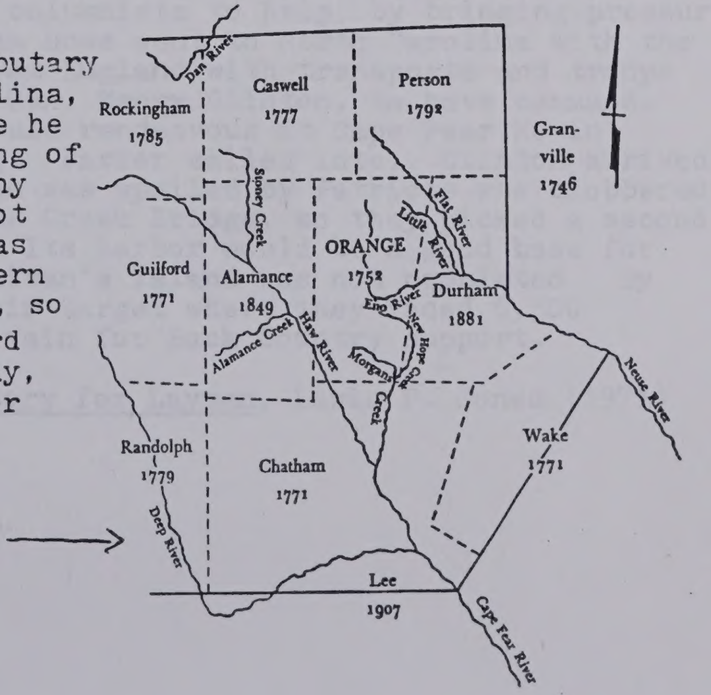
***Alexander Innes, a Scot, was an Asst, Commissary to Stuart with the Cherokees and was living with the Indians in 1777. He was a captain in the SC Royalists in 1779 and their colonel on 20 January 1780. After the fall of Charleston he became inspector general of the provincial forces in the South. Following the British evacuation he went to Nova Scotia.

**** Fanning's account of the Battle of Musgrove's Mill on 18 August 1780 is essentially verified by Whig sources. In fact, his journal sticks to the facts, does not exaggerate and contains no propaganda, making it a valuable resource for historians. What he lacks in spelling he more than makes up for with accuracy. In this battle, the Whigs were commanded by Colonels Elijah Clarke, Isaac Shelby, and James Williams. The Loyalists were drawn into a concealed ambush, and Innes was wounded at a crucial moment, causing his battle line to fall back.

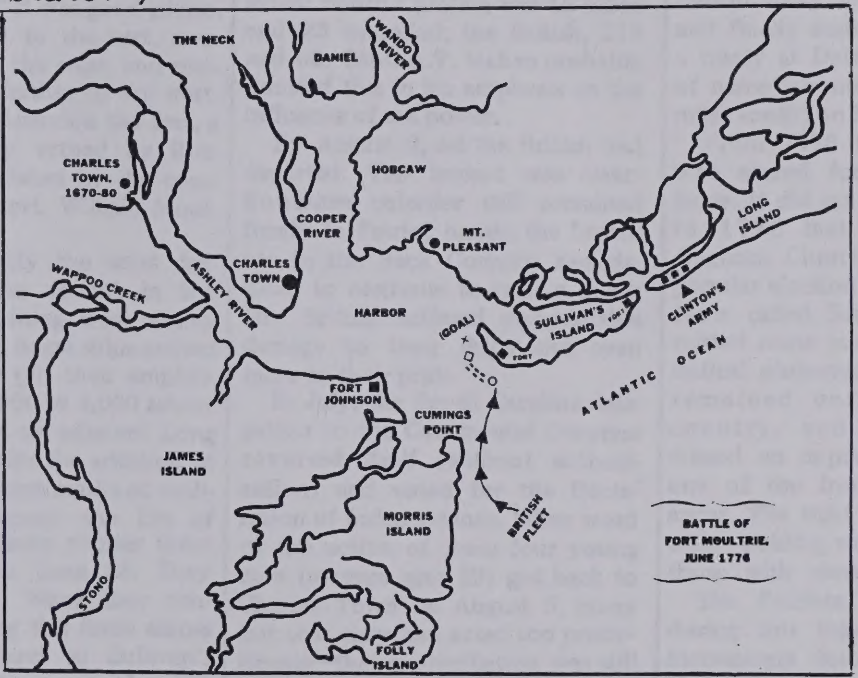
*****Abraham Depeyster (1753-1799) from New York, was a captain in the New York Volunteers (Loyalist). He served in the siege of Charleston, Musgrove's Mill, and was second in command under Major Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain. After the war he went to St. John, New Brunswick, and was a colonel in the provincial militia and treasurer of the province.

******The celebrated Battle of King's Mountain occurred on 7 October 1780 and resulted in the death of Major Patrick Ferguson and the destruction of his Loyalist corps by the frontier Whig militia. This was a turning point in the Revolutionary War, and soon became a rallying cry. Combined with other factors, it led to the defeat of Lord Cornwallis.

On his return to Deep River, tributary of Cape Fear River in North Carolina, Fanning was now in the area where he was born after the tragic drowning of his young father. He relates many more experiences, but they are not part of our story. Deep River was too far east to show on the Western Carolinas map on a previous page, so here it is. The Battle of Guilford Courthouse was fought not far away, and also the area of the Dan River where General Greene foiled Lord Cornwallis's attempt to cross into Virginia.


Dan River
Rockingham
1785
Caswell
1777
Person
1792
Gran-
ville
1746
Sioney Creek
Flat River
Little River
ORANGE
1752
Guilford
1771
Alamance
1849
Eno River
Durham
1881
Alamance Creek
Haw River
New Hope Cr.
Morgan Cr.
Creek
Neuse River
Wake
1771
Randolph
1779
Chatham
1771
Deep River
Lee
1907
Cape Fear River

In spite of all those British Men-O-War sailing around Sullivan's Island, which Henry Laurens had mentioned as early as January 1776, in March the ruling Whig provincial government of South Carolina sitting in Charleston declared independence from Great Britain. On 28 June a rude palmetto fort, hastily constructed on that same island was able (despite detractions by such as the General Charles Lee) to withstand attack by absorbing the fire from British cannon which could not penetrate the spongy wood when bombarded by the fleet of Sir Peter Parker. (Ever since then, South Carolina has been known as the "Palmetto State.")


THE NECK
DANIEL
WANDO RIVER
CHARLES TOWN, 1670-80
HOBCAW
COOPER RIVER
MT. PLEASANT
LONG ISLAND
CHARLES TOWN
WAPPOO CREEK
ASHLEY RIVER
HARBOR
(GOAL)
SULLIVAN'S ISLAND
FORT
FORT
CLINTON'S ARMY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FORT JOHNSON
CUMINGS POINT
JAMES ISLAND
MORRIS ISLAND
BRITISH FLEET
BATTLE OF FORT MOULTRIE, JUNE 1776
STONO
FOLLY ISLAND

The British Strategy: "Planning to split the colonies by driving* a wedge through New York, they thought they could first use their time well, with so many Carolina 5th columnists to help, by bringing pressure on the south. Admiral Sir William Howe went to North Carolina with the fleet. Sir Peter Parker came from England with transports and troops under Charles Lord Cornwallis. Gen. Henry Clinton, to have command, came south from Boston. They would rendezvous at Cape Fear NC in February. Everything went wrong: Parker sailed late. Clinton arrived late in April, and the whole plan was spoiled by Patriots who clobbered Loyalists at the Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, so they picked a second target, selecting Charles Town. Its harbor would be a good base for operations--the new fort on Sullivan's Island was not completed. By 10 June they had arrived off their target where they faced 6,500 poorly-armed Patriots hoping in vain for Back Country support.

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*South Carolina--A Synoptic History for Laymen, Lewis P. Jones (1971) pages 104-6

The British strategy appeared sound: To hit the fort guarding the harbor from the land side with an amphibious force, and to sail the fleet into the southwest side of the fort and bombard it from its unprotected, uncompleted flank.

The American strategy was desperate: Hold what they could. President Rutledge sent word to Gen. Charles Lee, ordered to take command, "For God's sake, lose not a moment." It was good advice, with the British to the east, mercurial Tories to the west, and restless Cherokees farther to the west. Lee's strategy: Abandon the fort, a proposal bluntly vetoed by Rutledge and repudiated by the commander of the fort, William Moultrie.

It was probably the most dramatic battle ever fought in the state, but everything went wrong for the invaders. Some ships arrived late. Then they put their amphibious force of 2,000 to 3,000 ashore north of the fort on adjacent Long Island (which, with the addition of a pavilion and other marks of civilization, later became the Isle of Palms) and let them swelter there from June 8 to June 28. They blundered again: When they contemplated moving this force across from Long Island to Sullivan's Island, they had a good idea but then found the channel was seven feet deep, not 18 inches, and hence they could not wade as planned. (The Patriots were doubly lucky: Those facing this invading force numbered only 780, had 26 guns and 28 rounds of ammunition. Perhaps Gen. Lee may be excused his panic.) The Navy advised Gen. Clinton not to worry, however, since they would soon have the situation well in hand, whereupon they sailed off for that vulnerable southwest sector only to have some ships ingloriously run aground in front of the fort and end up participating in a frontal assault. There was bravery enough for both sides (Sgt. Jasper's rehearsal for the flag scene at Iwo Jima was equalled by the heroism of Capt. Morris of the Bristol), but the outcome was one-sided: South Carolina lost 12 killed and 25 wounded; the British, 115 and 65. Capt. A.T. Mahan probably omitted this in his emphasis on the influence of sea power.

By August 2, all the British had departed. The impact was clear: Southern colonies still remained firmly in Patriot hands; the Loyalists in the Back Country had decided to continue to remain quiet; the British suffered considerable damage to their ships and even more to their pride.

In July, the South Carolina delegation to the Continental Congress reversed itself (without authorization) and voted for the Declaration of Independence. When word of the action of these four young men (average age: 29) got back to Charles Town on August 5, many felt that they had acted too precipitously—that reconciliation was still possible. As late as April, the Provincial Congress had asserted that they did "still earnestly desire" an accommodation with Britain.

In 1776, the Carolinians faced a new threat, a second Cherokee War. Some English authorities urged Indian agent John Stuart to stir up such, but he acted more circumspectly and simply sought their neutral cooperation, knowing that once on the warpath the red men would not know a Redcoat from a Radical. (He also knew the Patriots held his wife as hostage.) Irked by many factors, including the constant encroachments of settlers, the Indians did not take much nudging to go into a wild slaughter as the whole frontier blazed up in July 1776. This time the settlers could not call on British regulars for help. Andrew Williamson then led a successful foray into Indian Country and finally ended the menace with a treaty at DeWitt's Corner (origin of name for modern Due West, six miles south) on March 20, 1777.

From 1776 to 1779, the state was spared further military violence. It did get a new constitution in 1778 that disestablished the Anglican Church and provided for popular election of the upper house (now called Senate). It also permitted some more blunders to the radical plutocracy: Representation remained unfair to the back country, and hence statesmen missed an opportunity to remove one of the frontier Tories' grievances. The right to suffrage and to office holding was still restricted to those with considerable property.

The Patriots blundered further during this interim by becoming increasingly intolerant of dissent. Now that the new state constitution specifically approved the Declaration of Independence, many began demanding an oath renouncing allegiance to George III, and by 1778 they were demanding positive allegiance to the Patriot cause on pain of possible persecution. Naturally this alienated many, and some emigres departed in the face of this witch hunt.

(Please excuse all this plagarism--but I told you in the beginning that this was a documentary, and you need to get both sides of the story, so as to understand it better.)

With all of the above going on, the Charlestonians realized their defenses needed beefing up. Moultrie's palmetto fort had served in a pinch, but it was not enough; though a 1779 attempt by Prevost, not mentioned above, was also repulsed. With so much to do, those Upcountry prisoners in the Charleston jail were a distraction.

(New Claim)

To the Commissioners

appointed by act of Parliament for enquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists.

The Memorial of Colonel Richard Pearis.

Most humbly Sheweth,

That your Memorialist was formerly an Inhabitant of South Carolina that he early in the Commencement of the late dissentions in America took a decided and active part in favor of Government, and that he continued his unremitted Endeavours in the Royal Cause during the War. at the Conclusion whereof he emigrated to the Island of Abaco in the Bahamas where he has since resided.

That on being informed of the first most gracious Act of Parliament appointing Commissioners to enquire into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists your Memorialist used his utmost Endeavours to have his Claim for Compensation put in under the said Act of Parliament but misfortune attended his Claim in transmitting it to England which he believes to be the sole, Reason why his was not put in under the said Act.

That on the arrival of Captain Hood at New Providence who your Memorialist is informed was sent thither for the purpose of receiving the Claims of the Loyalists in the Bahama Islands, he among others signed a Memorial addressed to the Honorable the American Commissioners which was handed to Captain Hood to be delivered by him at their Office at Halifax

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Your Memorialist did not make affidavit at that time stating the Reasons why his Claim was not put in under the former Act of Parliament because he did not then know that such affidavit was not required.

Thus situated your Memorialist humbly prays that you will take his Case into Consideration and be pleased to look on the Memorial signed by him and delivered to Captain Wood as aforesaid and now Lodged in your Office as his Claim, he being ready to make the affidavit required by Act of Parliament and that he may be heard in support thereof.

And your Memorialist will ever pray.

(Signed) Richd. Pearis.

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302.

Estimate of the Losses &c sustained by Colonel Richard Pearis a Loyalist during the American Rebellion to his final Expulsion from South Carolina (his native Country) to East Florida in the year 1783.

Real Estate viz.

		£
No. 1.	10,000 Acres of Land on Reedy River South Carolina called by the name of the Great Plains, 100 Acres of which were under Cultivation with Apple, Peach and Plumb Orchards now Confiscated by the Rebels, worth on the most moderate Computation at 6/6 p Acre	3250 " "
No. 2.	5,200 Acres of Land on Enoree River, 120 of which were under Cultivation similar to No. 1 at 5/ p Acre	1300 " "
No. 3.	5000 Acres of Land on Saluda River, 15 of which were under Cultivation similar to No. 1 at 4/6	1125 " "
		5675 " "
No. 4.	2000 Acres of very fine unimproved Land on Paskagolah River in West Florida at 4/9 p Acre	475 " "
No. 5.	1200 Acres good unimproved Land called Swan Ponds in Frederic County Virginia at 10/ p Acre	600 " "
	Total Real Estate	£ 6750 " "

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3

Colonel Richard Pearis's Personal Accot.

		£
No. 1.	A good dwelling House, Kitchen Smoke House Stables Dairy Smith's Shop with divers Tools Husbandry and others, Waggons Carts Ploughs, Harrows and Negroe Houses, Household Furniture, wearing apparel &c on No. 1. being the Homestead worth at least	300
No. 2.	3000 Bushels Grain different sorts @ 2/ ₽ Bushel	300.. –.. –
No. 3.	A Large Grist and Saw Mill cost building	1000.. –.. –
No. 4.	A large Indian Store with a proper assortment of Indian and other Goods just arrived from Charlestown, the latter as ₽ Invoice I paid for	623.. 18.. –
No. 5.	12 Negroe Men and Women carried away @ £50 each	600.. –.. –
No. 6.	47 Head of English blooded Horses Mares and Colts, cost great pains Trouble and Expence to procure them and of great Value in Carolina @ £10.	470.. –.. –
No. 7.	200 Head of Cattle .... @ 20/	200.. –.. –
No. 8.	250 Head of large Hogs English breed @ 15/ ..	187.. 10.. –
No. 9.	14 Sheep and Goats .... @ 20/	14.. –.. –
No. 10.	Buildings on No. 2. Enoree Estate worth	120.. –.. –
No. 11.	Buildings on No. 3. Saluda Estate worth	15.. –.. –
No. 12.	5 Horses carried off .... @ £10	50.. –.. –
No. 13.	16 Head of Cattle .... @ 20/	16.. –.. –
No. 14.	Had 14 Negroes of my own Property worth £50 each, they were sent into Fort Cornwallis when besieged by the Rebels to assist in repairing the Fort as ₽ Colonel Brown's Order and Certificate myself present during the Siege, they were all taken at the Surrender of the Garrison with myself Prisoner.	700.. –.. –

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	Brought Forward	£	4596.. 8.. –
No. 15.	21 Horses & Mares also taken	@ £10	210.. "
No. 16.	27 Head of Cattle	@ 20/	27.. –
No. 17.	Husbandry Tools and necessaries as Waggons Carts Ploughs, Harrows, Iron Tools &c included		60.. "
No. 18.	500 Bushels Indian Corn in the Barn taken		50.. "
No. 19.	Household Furniture, Wearing apparel both Men and Womens taken not less than		100.. "
			5043.. 8.. –

Debts.

No. 20.	General Nathl. Guest £1300 Pensylvania Curry. on Execution @ 13/6 Sterling p £ Curry.	£877.. 10..
No. 21.	John Wilcox £213 Virginia Currency Money on Account @ 15/ Sterg. the £ Currency	159.. 15..
No. 22.	Colonel Wade Hampton on Note	135.. "
No. 23.	Colonel Jacob Hoyt £2500 Virginia Money on Bond @ £ 15/. St. &c.	1875.. "
No. 24.	John White £350 Pensylvania Currency on Bond @ 13/6	236.. 5.
No. 25.	The above are the largest Sums due me but having lost by various Accidents of the War almost all my Books and Papers cannot ascertain the smaller debts nevertheless from the aforesaid circumstance and as a Trader, did I am sure amount to at least	500.. "
		3783.. 10..

Personal Estate Total	£	8,826.. 18.. –
Real Estate		6,750.. –
	£	15,576.. 18.. –

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Services.

In the year 1755 I was honored with a Company of Provincials in the Virginia Service, as also I was appointed by Governor Dunwiddie to take the Charge of all the Southern Nations of Indians until Mr. Atkins was appointed to superintend them, at which time I was removed into the Maryland and Pennsylvania Service, in order to be more Centrical in Collecting the Indians together. I served under the Command of General Forbes, Stanwix, Monckton, and Boquet to the end of the War, and was the first British Subject who entered Fort Pit at its Reduction, for which I had General Forbes's Public Thanks, and promises of Reward, these and many other Circumstances are well known to Lord Eglinton and Governor Mercer if Living.

At the beginning of the Rebellion in America I took the earliest Opportunity in exerting myself in behalf of the King and Government by dispersing a Body of Rebels to the amount of 700 in the district of Ninety Six in the year 1776. It was not long after when a Turn of Fortune made me their Prisoner, and I was carried to Charlestown Goal where I lay in Irons Nine Months, at the expiration of which time I was released. I then made the best of my Way from Carolina, (on foot near 700 Miles) to West Florida through

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the Country of my friendly Indians, without any Provisions or Support but what I got from them. – On my arrival at Pensacola, Colonel Stewart gave me a Company under him, and I was immediately ordered to march on the River Mississippi and retake it from the Rebels if possible, which I effected, by storming their Main-guard of 40 Men, and left my Company in the Garrison. – On my return to Pensacola I was ordered with one Serjeant to conduct Mr. David Holmes and the Creek Indians to the assistance of St. Augustine, a distance of 700 Miles as the Rebels attempted to invade East Florida. –

After this Service was compleated, I was ordered by General Prevost to join Colonels Prevost and Brown to invade Georgia, and was afterwards ordered by the said General to join General Pattison against Charlestown, on my arrival there I was ordered by General Clinton to go to the frontiers of South Carolina, there to raise the friends of Government, which I compleated to the amount of 5 or 6000 Men, disarmed all the Rebels from Savannah River to Broad River near the Borders of North Carolina, being upwards of one hundred Miles in breadth, destroyed their Forts and imprisoned their Leaders to the number of 40, took 3000 Stand of Arms, 22 Swivels, 27 Blunderbusses, and a quantity of Ammunition; and this Service was no sooner compleated than Colonel Innes, and afterwards Colonel Balfour arrived to take upon them the Command, and in a short time after they returned the Arms & Ammunition into their hands and released their Leaders. –

On seeing this I returned to Georgia, settled my Family near Augusta, where I was again made Prisoner with Colonel Brown (See my Account of Losses there No. 14. to 19.) these and many other particulars General Prevost and Colonel Brown can testify the Truth of if required. –

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Sufferings.

In the year 1776 (as ⅌ No. 1. to 9.) when my Estate was burnt and destroyed, my Wife 2 Daughters and one Son were surprised by break of day by one Colonel Thomas and 400 Militia, beat and abused my daughters and made them all Prisoners, after burning, destroying and carrying away the Property, — forced them to March thro' Rivers and Creeks on foot 25 Miles in one day, without Victuals or any thing to cover their heads from the Sun; afterwards kept them confined three days without any Provisions, then sent them off in an open Waggon 100 Miles, and turned them out to shift for themselves amongst a Parcel of Rebels without Money or Provisions; they were then obliged for three years during my Absence on duty, to be depending on Charitable People, added to their own Industry for their Living, and under continual apprehension of being massacred.

My Son is now an Ensign in Colonel Brown's Regiment, whose Reduction is daily expected, Myself and the rest of my Family came by Invitation of Government to East Florida for Refuge on the Lands of a Friend, but by its Cession to the Spaniards, I am again destitute and have no Property or Prospect left for my future Subsistence, not a foot of Land remaining for me to retire to under the British Government, and dare not return to an American one.

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Thus in my old Age, after the various — Services, Hazards and Fatigues I have undergone, sacrificed an affluent Fortune with a view to serve a just Cause, I must perish, yes, I must Starve with my Family, or offer our throats to our Enemies, and die boldly, unless the British Government for whom I have fought, Bled, and Sacrificed every thing, gives me that Relief, which every Sense of Honor and Humanity points out; and to whom these few unembellished Truths are Submitted by a Suffering Loyalist.

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Halifax 28th August 1786.

× Evidence on the Claim of Colonel Richard Pearis late of South Carolina.—

Claimant Sworn.

Says he resided on St. John's River Florida in 1783, and in the fall of that year sent his Claim to England but the Ship in which it was sent was wrecked on the Barr of St. Augustine, about three Months after he sent another Claim to England by Mr. Thomas Forbes which arrived in London too late

Mr. Forbes left the Claim with Mr. James Simpson with directions to present it the first Opportunity, who writes that the necessary Steps would be taken for that purpose.—

Colonel Pearis now prays to be heard conditionally should his Claim be received, or that the Memorial sent from the Bahamas Signed by several Loyalists might be considered as his Claim which it was intended to be, — It is dated in December 1785 and was transmitted to Halifax by the first Opportunity, after the Accounts arrived of the late Act having passed.—

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Produced a Certificate from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown that he sent a Duplicate of this Claim to England in August 1783, but that the Ship in which it went was wrecked.

Claimant is a Native of Ireland, came to America many years ago when only ten years of Age

In 1775 he was settled on Enoree River on his own Property. — He lived in a remote part of the Country, and had no Opportunity of acting in favour of Great Britain until after the Loyalists were overpowered under Cunninghame when he was appointed by 2200 Loyalists to Command them near Ninety Six with the assistance of Lieutenant Colonel Robinson and Major Mc Lauren. — When they surrounded the Rebels at Ninety Six, and contrary to Claimant's Opinion made a Truce for 20 days which the Rebels broke and took him prisoner and carried him to Richardson's Camp and to Charleston where they kept him Nine Months in Goal, when he was released on taking an Oath of Neutrality.

Upon his return to his Family he found his House burnt, his Property destroyed, and his Family drove off, with them he lived for some time, but was so harrassed that he was obliged to fly for Protection to Charles Town where Governor Rutledge protected him for some short time, but being there in danger of his Life he went into the Country and swore 400 Loyalists to go with him to Florida which being discovered he was obliged to fly to the Indian Nation. From thence he went with Six Men through many difficulties to Pensacola where he was received by

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who appointed him Captain of the West-Florida Loyalists, and gave him a Commission which is produced and is dated in 1777. — This was in 1777 and since that time he has been always within the British Lines and in constant Employment as an Officer. —

The latter part of the War he acted as Lieut Colonel of Militia in South Carolina, and mentions many Instances where he did material Service

He receives no Half Pay. —

His present Residence is in the Island of Abacco, Bahama. —

Produces Certificate from Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown K. C. Rangers to his having joined the Kings Troops in 1777 after having his Property destroyed and his Family greatly distressed and to his serving the Remainder of the War with Zeal and Spirit, and that at the Siege of Fort Cornwallis he had been nearly assassinated by the Rebels. —

And Certificate from Brigadier General Mc Arthur to the Truth of the above. —

Certificate from Malcolm Brown Aid de Camp to Rebel General Williamson to his being present when his Property was burnt &c

He had two Sons in the Service, one is in the Cherokee Nation, and one is a half-pay Ensign

Produces Instructions from Sir Henry Clinton to embody the Militia in South Carolina

His Family are in the Bahamas. —

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Property No. 1 ....10,000 Acres of Land on Reedy River South Carolina, known by the name of the Great Plains. ~

Says he had a natural Son to a Squa of the Cherokee Indians who lived with them and procured a Tract of 150,000 Acres to be sold by the Indians to the Claimant, but 100,000 is reserved to his Son who was naturalized. ~

He sold 30,000 to Jacob Hoit, and reserved above 20,000 Acres which form No. 1. 2. & 3. ~ This Transaction took place about the year 1768 at which time he moved into South Carolina, or to this Property. ~

Thinks before he came to settle this Land cost him £500 Virginia Currency, afterwards it cost him £1400 Sterling to make over these Lands to himself. He sold the 30,000 Acres to Hoit for £2500 Virginia Currency for which he took his Bond; but never received Principal or Interest. ~

He built a House on this Land which cost him £100 Virginia Currency, and cleared about 100 Acres Corn Land, this was upon No. 1.

There were other Buildings on No. 1 which, with Furniture apparel &c, were well worth £200 more, and were burnt by Colonel Thomas.

There were Grist and Saw Mills on this No. 1. the buildings of which cost him £1000 Sterling which were likewise burnt by Colonel Thomas. ~

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Property No 2. ......5200 Acres on No 2. about 150 were cleared by Hoit, and 50 were on the 200 Acres which we shall call No 6. —

There were some buildings on No 2. made by Hoit, valued at £100 Sterling. —

No 3. ......5000 Acres on No 3. on which 15 Acres were Cleared, and a small House £15. — All these compose the £20,000 Acres which were worth 10/ Sterling ⅌ Acre .. £10,000.

He now Claims for the whole of No 1. 2. 3. with Buildings Mills & Improvements £10,000 Sterling. —

Says all these were in the poſseſsion of the Americans, and some part is sold. —

Says that before the War this Property supported his Family and he carried on a Trade with the Indians from it. —

Colonel Pearis's name does not appear in the act of Confiscation of South Carolina. —

No 4. ......2000 Acres of Land in West Florida given to him in 1777. — He never took out a Patent or made any Improvement on it. —

It cost him £50 Sterling to have it Surveyed. — Values it at £475 Sterling. —

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Property No. 5. ...... 1200 Acres of Land called Swan Ponds in Frederick Town Virginia. —

He took 3 Warrants to Survey Land to this amount for a Debt of £40 Virginia Currency about 18 years since. — He had it Surveyed, and took a Grant of it from Lord Fairfax, but made no Improvements. — When he left Virginia he left the Grant with one Edward Mc Guire with directions to settle it, but he knows nothing of it more. —

He could have sold it for 10/ Sterling ℘ Acre, which he now values it at ------ £600.

No. 6 ...... 200 Acres on Enoree River, he purchased in 1776 after he had been in Goal, from one Ford, He gave an English Stallion for them which he valued at Fifty Guineas. — He bought the Land because he feared they would take his Horse from him. —

He claims the value of his Horse Fifty Guineas.

Personal No. 12. .... Fourteen Negroes taken at Fort Cornwallis where they were put by Lieutenant Colonel Brown for the purpose of making Works. —

Produces Order from Colonel Brown for the Negroes of Colonel Pearis to be brought to the Fort, and a Certificate that they were all taken by the Rebels mentioning their Names. —

All these were his, and thinks that one with another they were worth £50 each — £700 Str.

Four of them were Children. —

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Personal Property No. 5. ...... 12 Negroe Men and Women carried off by Colonel Thomas in 1776. — they were all Sold by the Rebels. — they were all his Property. — Three of them were Children. — He values them at £50 each. ------ £600 Sterling. —

No. 4. A Store with Indian Goods on Reedy River, part was destroyed by Colonel Thomas and part in the Indian Nation. He computes his Loss at —— £623. 18. — Sterling. —

This was what the Goods cost him in Charlestown. — He paid for these Goods in Orders for Lands in the Indian purchase in Georgia. — He gave these Orders as Security for payment. —

No. 6. ------ 47 Head of Horses at £10. — £470. —
they were taken by Colonel Thomas

No. 7. ------ 200 Head of Cattle —— £200. —
No. 8. ------ 250 Hogs @ 15/ —— £187.. 10. —
No. 9. ------ 14 Sheep and Goats —— £14.. —
No. 12. ------ 5 Horses carried off from Saluda River — @ £10 each —— £50. —
No. 13. ------ 16 Head of Cattle —— £16.
No. 15 & 16. ------ 21 Horses & 16 Cattle lost at Augusta £237. —

These were Collected during the War

No. 17. —— Husbandry Tools &c. at Augusta £60. —

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Personal Property } ...... 500 Bushels Corn at same place -- £50. —
No. 18.

No. 19. ...... Furniture and apparel at ditto .. -- £100. —

Amount of Debts due him ...... £3783.10. —

Of this £1875 is a Bond from Jacob Hoit for the 30,000 Acres. —

No 20 ...... 23 Head of Cattle furnished the Militia at Augusta in 1781. —

Produces Certificate of this from George Derkage .. A. C. G. .... — -- £23 Sterling.

John Tanner Witness Sworn

Says he was carried by a Rebel Colonel Thomas upon an Expedition in the back parts of South Carolina in 1776, and was then on Colonel Pearis's Lands, — He had a good House and lived well. — Colonel Pearis was then a Prisoner. The Rebels carried off all they could, and burnt every thing else, — carrying off his Cattle and Horses. —

He was supposed to be a Man of Property, and was a Man of great Weight in the Country, and of great Loyalty. —

The Lands were very good, and thinks 100 Acres were cleared on No 1. and as many more on No 2.

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29th August 1786.

Claimant produces Deed from G. Pearis natural Son of Claimant to Richard Pearis 27th April 1774 in Consideration of £500 South Carolina Currency and Love. Conveys 150,000 as described called the Great Plains.

Claimant says he owes no Money in the States, except the Goods to Rugeley.

Major Christopher Neeley Witness Sworn;

Says that from the year 1775 Colonel Pearis has been very Active in the Cause of Great Britain, and that he has been confined in Goal on account of his Loyalty, and that he was obliged to fly from South Carolina through the Cherokee Nation to Florida.

And understood that his Property was destroyed by Colonel Thomas an American officer.

Says he was on Colonel Pearis's Property before he settled on it, some years before the War.

He understood that he had the Property from his natural Son by a Cherokee Woman, it appeared very good Land.

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He was again on the Property in 1776, he saw two Mills, a dwelling House, Out houses and a considerable Quantity of Land Cleared.

He thinks a Tract of Land situated as Colonel Pearis's was, he could not value less than 6/ Sterling ℘ acre.

Witness says Colonel Pearis Traded largely with the Indians.

He saw a large Stock, and his House seemed comfortably settled and to want for nothing.

He had several Negroes, but he cannot say how many.

Says all his Property was destroyed by a Rebel Colonel Thomas.

Colonel Pearis's Family afterwards lived near Witness in great Distress.

He has understood that Colo Pearis's + Estate has been sold by the Americans.

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No. of Certific.	Name of Claimant	Province	[illegible] worth of Property	Sum originally allowed	Sum [illegible]	[illegible]	Total Sum [illegible]	[illegible]	Ballance [illegible]
1	Partier Peter	Pennsy.	97.18	55			55	22	33
	Pearson Col Thomas	S. Caro.	385.3	190			190	76	114
3	[illegible] Col Richard	do	15,576.10	5,624			5624	2249.12	3374
	[illegible]	Pennsy.	674.10	400	400		400	54	346
	[illegible]tchard Azariah	Connect.	1,096.3	400			400		400
	[illegible] Samuel	N. York	414.7	135			135		135
	[illegible] Wm	do	233.	34			34		34
	[illegible] Christopher	do	171.	50			50		50
	Purdy Stephen	do	731.5	500			500		500
	[illegible] James	do	609.1	298			298		298
	[illegible]	do	201.15	70			70		70
	[illegible]	do	1121.11	700		[illegible]	700		700
33	[illegible] William	do	194.7	10		[illegible]	40		40
34	[illegible]	do	590.7	220			220		220
35	Parker James	do	127.6	65			65		65

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